

A.F. of L.^H-C.I.O. Merger Wins Approval

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MARCH 1955
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The American

FEDERATIONIST

LABOR'S MAGAZINE



GEORGE MEANY AND WALTER REUTHER EXCHANGE CONGRATULATIONS AFTER THE JOINT UNION COMMITTEE APPROVES PLAN FOR A NEW MERGED FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS IN U.S. LOOKING ON IS DAVID McDONALD, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA. THE MERGER STORY, INCLUDING FULL TEXT OF THE PLAN, IS ON THE INSIDE.

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The American FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor

MARCH, 1955

GEORGE MEANY, Editor

Vol. 62, No. 3

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Balance Needed

We live in an age in which civilization has become largely identified with mechanization.

Machines, engines, gadgets, technology and power are the basis of the structure of our economic society. The pressing of buttons and the pulling of levers control the commercial and industrial dynamics of modern life.

In this age of the power of machines, we need to recognize the power of ideas. In this age of mechanical invention, we need the adaptations of political and social inventions. In this age of scientific mechanism, we need the saving values of spiritual idealism.

The world of science, of things, of machines and gadgets crowds hard upon the conception of both God and man. The world of science, technology and things needs the saving balance and deeper meaning of the liberal arts, the humane tradition and the spiritual conception of man and the universe.

Without a sense of values, ethical and humane, and without the insights of the human spirit, the discoveries of one generation become glibly exalted above the wisdom and insights of a hundred generations.

Modern science, industrialism and materialism need the balance of the humane and social studies, need philosophy and religion to prevent a destructive impact upon the conception of the freedom, dignity, integrity and moral autonomy of the individual human being.

The conceptions of the modern scientific age have contributed greatly to the knowledge and progress of man and civilization but deeply need an emphasis on the sovereignty of the moral law, moral values beyond science, ethical ideas above force and totalitarian power, and spiritual insights which will make a deeper and wider synthesis—a new integration of old and new ideas in the unity of learning, the unity of human personality, the unity of mankind, the unity of the universe—one world, one family, one God.

Frank P. Graham.

Published monthly by the American Federation of Labor at the A. F. of L. Building, Washington 1, D. C. Printed in Washington. Editor—GEORGE MEANY. Managing Editor—BERNARD TASSLER. Subscriptions, \$2 a year in U.S. and Canada. Other rates on application. Entered as second-class matter at Washington and accepted for mailing at special rate of postage provided in Section 1103, Act of Oct. 3, 1917. No paid advertising is ever accepted. Material appearing in this magazine may not be reprinted without prior written permission.



These men participated in the historic session which resulted in the decision to merge the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Seated, from left to right, are Matthew Woll, Harry C. Bates, David McDonald, William F. Schnitzler, A. F. of L. President George Meany, C.I.O. President Walter Reuther, James B. Carey and David Dubinsky. Standing, from left to right, are R. J. Thomas, Frank Rosenblum, Joseph Curran, O. A. (Jack) Knight, Emil Rieve, William L. McFetridge, Jacob Potofsky, Dan W. Tracy, Charles J. MacGowan, William C. Doherty, John Riffe, L. S. Buckmaster, A. J. Hayes, J. Albert Woll and Arthur Goldberg

MERGER WINS APPROVAL

LEADERS of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, in a step which will surely be an important part of the history of our times, have formally agreed to merge the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. into a single labor federation. The agreement to end the split means that the 15,000,000 members of the two groups will probably be united before 1955 ends.

George Meany will be president. William F. Schnitzler will be secretary-treasurer. The agreement, signed at Miami Beach, provides that the executive officers of the merged federation will be initially elected from the American Federation of Labor.

The unions of the Congress of Industrial Organizations will become a new department within the new federation. This department, to be known as the Council of Industrial Organizations, will be open to all industrial unions within the merged federation.

The director of the Department of Organization of the merged federation is to be selected initially from a union now affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

A. F. of L. President Meany and C.I.O. President Walter Reuther, in a joint statement, said:

"It is our belief that a united labor movement will be able to devote the talent and strength of our trade unions to greater service to the people of the United States.

"At this time in our history, when this country and all the free world are beset by the challenge of Soviet Communist totalitarianism, a united labor movement will best be able to mobilize the working men and women of this country toward the defense of our free institutions, and toward the development of full employment and greater security for all the people."

The Merger Agreement

Following is the text of the merger agreement signed February 9 at Miami Beach by leaders of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations:

Report and Recommendations of the Joint A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Unity Committee

The Joint A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Unity Committee is composed of representatives of the American Federation of Labor and of the Congress of Industrial Organizations who have been authorized by their respective federations to meet and explore the possibility of achieving organic unity between the two federations.

In June, 1953, the Joint Committee submitted an interim report recommending that, as a first step toward

unity, the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations should adopt a no-raiding agreement and that each federation should urge that its affiliated unions subscribe and become parties to a no-raiding agreement.

Both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations accepted the report and recommendations of the Joint Committee, and on December 16, 1953, a no-raiding agreement was executed by the two federations. On June 9, 1954, the no-raiding agreement was subscribed to by twenty-nine unions affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations and sixty-five unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

At that time Presidents Meany and Reuther issued a joint statement stating that the no-raiding agreement



A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Unity Committee released copies of the merger agreement at Miami Beach press parley. Seen seated at the table (from left to right) are A. F. of L. Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler, A. F. of L. Vice-President Bates, A. F. of L. President Meany, C.I.O. President Reuther and C.I.O. Secretary Carey, here wearing his shirt displaying the labels of A. F. of L. unions. All members of the Unity Committee signed the merger agreement February 9. Next day it was ratified by the A. F. of L. Executive Council



President Meany and President Reuther leaving hotel after announcing Unity Committee's merger decision

constituted a "cease-fire" and expressing their confidence that during the truce thus provided the A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Unity Committee would be able to solve the manifold problems involved in bringing about a merger of the two major labor federations. Since then one additional union affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations and twelve additional unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have adhered to the no-raiding agreement, making a total of seventy-seven American Federation of Labor unions and thirty Congress of Industrial Organizations unions.

On October 15, 1954, a further meeting of the Joint Committee was held. At this meeting the committee agreed:

"It is the unanimous decision of the Joint Committee of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. to create a single trade union center in America through the process of merger, which will preserve the integrity of each affiliated national and international union.

"Further, the presidents of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. are authorized to appoint a joint subcommittee to draft a detailed plan to achieve this objective and to then report its recommendations to this committee at its next meeting."

Immediately following the meeting President George Meany of the A. F. of L. appointed himself, Secretary-Treasurer William Schnitzler and Vice-President Harry Bates of the A. F. of L. members of the joint subcommittee. President Walter Reuther appointed himself, President David J. McDonald of the United Steelworkers of America and C.I.O. Secretary-Treasurer James B. Carey as the C.I.O. members of the joint subcommittee.

The joint subcommittee met and reported its recommendations to the A. F. of L.-C.I.O. full unity committee. On the basis of the report of the joint subcommittee, the C.I.O.-A. F. of L. Unity Committee recommends to the two federations the adoption of the following agreement to bring about organic unity:

1. Agreement to Merge the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations:

They agree to create a single trade union center in America through the process of merger which will preserve the integrity of each affiliated national and international union. They further agree upon the following principles and procedure to accomplish this end.

2. Principles of Merger

(A) It is recognized, as a fundamental basis for the merger of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O., that each national and international union, federal labor union, local industrial union and organizing committee, hereafter referred to as affiliated union holding a charter or certificate of affiliation granted by either federation, shall retain its charter or certificate and become, by virtue of the merger, an affiliate of the merged federation.

(B) It is further recognized and agreed that the integrity of each affiliated union in the merged federation shall be maintained and preserved. In order to effectuate this principle, the constitution of the merged federation shall contain a constitutional declaration for respect by each affiliate of the established bargaining relationship of every other affiliate and against raiding by any affiliate of the established collective bargaining relationship of any other affiliate. The merged federation shall provide appropriate machinery to implement this constitutional declaration.

(C) The parties further agree that, subject to the foregoing, each affiliated union shall have the same organizing jurisdiction in the merged federation as it had in its respective prior organization.

(D) The parties recognize that the above provisions may result in conflicting and duplicating organizations and jurisdictions. Where such is the case, affiliates of the merged federation will be encouraged to eliminate conflicts and duplications through the process of agreement, merger or other means, by voluntary agreement

in consultation with the appropriate officials of the merged federation.

(E) The merged federation shall be based upon a constitutional recognition that both craft and industrial unions are appropriate, equal and necessary as methods of trade union organization.

(F) The merged federation shall constitutionally recognize the right of all workers, without regard to race, creed, color or national origin, to share in the full benefits of trade union organization in the merged federation. The merged federation shall establish appropriate internal machinery to bring about, at the earliest possible date, the effective implementation of this principle of non-discrimination.

(G) The merged federation shall constitutionally affirm its determination to protect the American trade union movement from any and all corrupt influence and from the undermining efforts of Communist agencies and all others who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and of free and democratic trade unionism.

The merged federation shall establish appropriate internal machinery with authority effectively to implement this constitutional determination to keep the merged federation free from any taint of corruption or communism.

3. Government and Structure of the Merged Federation

(A) There shall be established within the merged federation a department to be known as the Council of Industrial Organizations. Such department shall have the status of and, in general, be comparable to the existing departments of the American Federation of Labor, which departments shall be continued within the merged federation. This department shall be open to all industrial unions within the merged federation. All other departments in the merged federation shall be open to all appropriate unions.

(B) The executive officers of the merged federation shall be a president and a secretary-treasurer, who shall be elected at the regular conventions of the merged federation. Initially, the president and secretary-treasurer shall be elected from the unions now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

(C) The Department of Organization of the merged federation shall be headed by a director of organization who shall be appointed by the president, after consultation with the Executive Committee, subject to the approval of the Executive Council.

Initially, the director of organization shall be selected from a union now affiliated with the Congress of Indus-



As had been previously agreed, six-man subcommittee met the day before session of the full Joint Unity Committee. A. F. of L. subcommittee members were George Meany, William Schnitzler and Harry C. Bates. C.I.O. members were Walter Reuther, James Carey and David J. McDonald

Jim Carey Wears His Unity Shirt

C.I.O. Secretary-Treasurer James B. Carey showed up at the history-making merger session wearing a shirt with myriad labels of American Federation of Labor unions printed on it. The shirt, made by the A. F. of L. Union Label and Service Trades Department, became part of Mr. Carey's wardrobe two years ago. But he kept it in a bureau drawer until the day of the big meeting—February 9, 1955. The twenty A. F. of L. and C.I.O. leaders at the unity meeting signed the many-labeled shirt before they signed the formal merger agreement.

trial Organizations. The Department of Organization shall be provided the staff and resources necessary to conduct organizational activities in cooperation with the various affiliated unions, in the common effort to organize the unorganized into collective bargaining units which experience has shown to be the most effective and appropriate for the protection of such workers.

(D) The convention of the merged federation shall be its supreme governing body. The convention shall meet regularly every two years. The delegates of affiliated unions to such convention shall vote the per capita membership of the unions which they represent. State and local central bodies shall be entitled to one vote each at conventions.

(E) In addition to the officers set forth in paragraph (B), there shall be twenty-seven vice-presidents, to be elected at the regular conventions of the merged federation. The vice-presidents shall, with the executive officers, constitute the Executive Council. The Executive Council shall meet not less than three times each year. It shall be authorized and empowered to take such action and render such decisions as will be necessary to carry out fully and adequately the decisions and instructions of the conventions and between conventions shall have the power to direct the affairs of the federation and to take such actions and render such decisions as are necessary and appropriate to safeguard and promote the best interests of the federation and its affiliated unions, including the organization of unorganized industries by means most appropriate for that purpose. At the first convention of the merged federation, seventeen of the vice-presidents shall be elected from unions now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and ten shall be elected from unions now affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

(F) There shall be an Executive Committee which shall consist of the executive officers and six of the vice-presidents to be selected by the Executive Council. The Executive Committee shall meet bi-monthly and shall

advise and consult with the executive officers on policy matters. Initially, three of the vice-presidents constituting the Executive Committee shall be selected from unions now affiliated with the A. F. of L. and three of the vice-presidents shall be selected from unions now affiliated with the C.I.O.

(G) There shall be a body known as the General Board which shall consist of the members of the Executive Council and the president or other principal officer of each of the national or international unions affiliated with the merged federation. The General Board shall meet at least once each year and shall decide all policy questions referred to it by the executive officers and the Executive Council. The rules of the convention as to voting shall govern the General Board.

(H) The constitution of the merged federation shall provide for standing committees of the federation in appropriate fields of action. These committees shall have appropriate staffs and due recognition shall be given to unions now affiliated with the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. in determining the chairmanships of, and in staffing, such committees.

(I) The constitution shall provide for state and local central bodies of the merged federation. In addition, the constitution shall permit the Council of Industrial Organizations to maintain subordinate councils, as now provided for departments of the American Federation of Labor. Existing state and local bodies of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. shall be merged as provided for in Paragraph (G) of this agreement.

4. Finances

(A) The merged federation shall succeed to all the assets of the American Federation of Labor and shall assume all of its liabilities and contractual obligations. The merged federation shall succeed to that part of the net assets of the Congress of Industrial Organizations which bears the same relationship to the membership of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (as measured by per capita tax paid as of the date of the 1954 Congress of Industrial Organizations convention) as the net assets of the American Federation of Labor as of the date of merger bear to the membership of the American Federation of Labor (similarly measured as of the date of the 1954 American Federation of Labor convention). The Council of Industrial Organizations to be established within the merged federation shall succeed to the balance of the assets of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, after all of its liabilities, both accrued and potential, have been provided for. The term *assets* shall include real estate held in trust for the respective federations.

(B) The per capita tax payable to the merged federation by national and international unions and organizing committees shall be four cents per member per month. The per capita tax of federal labor unions and local industrial unions shall not be less than eighty cents per member per month. The Council of Industrial Organizations, acting as a department of the merged

federation, shall establish its own per capita tax, as shall all other departments of the merged federation.

5. Existing Agreements

The A. F. of L.-C.I.O. no-raiding agreement shall be preserved and, with the consent of the signatories, shall be extended for a period of two years from its present expiration date and amended to make it effective as between all unions signatory to it irrespective of their former affiliation.

The C.I.O. organizational disputes agreement shall be maintained in force as between the unions which have adhered to it. The A. F. of L. internal disputes plan shall be maintained in force with respect to the unions which have adhered to it. A joint committee shall be established to formulate the means for incorporating these three agreements into a combined no-raiding and organization and jurisdictional disputes agreement which can be effective as between all of the unions becoming signatory to it, irrespective of their former affiliation, and for the purpose of extending, by voluntary agreement, such provisions to all affiliates of the merged federation.

6. Method of Merger

The merger shall be effected by the following procedure:

(A) This agreement shall be submitted for approval to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

(B) Upon approval by them, a proposed constitution for the merged federation, reflecting the provisions of the merger agreement and containing such other necessary and appropriate provisions as may be agreed to, shall be drafted by the Joint A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Unity Committee. The proposed constitution of the merged federation shall, consistent with the merger agreement, preserve the essential features of the present A. F. of L. and C.I.O. constitutions and the basic rights and obligations of the affiliates of both federations.

(C) The proposed constitution shall be submitted for approval to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

(D) Upon approval by them, this agreement and the proposed constitution, and such other agreements as are necessary to accomplish the merger, shall be submitted to separate conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

(E) Upon approval by the separate conventions of the two federations of the merger agreement and the proposed constitution of the merged federation, a joint convention shall be held. Such joint convention shall constitute the first regular biennial convention of the merged federation.

(F) Initially, the headquarters and field staff of the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. shall be retained as the staff of the merged federation. A special committee shall be established of the present executive officers of the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. which shall, in conjunction with executive officers of the merged federation, make just, fair and equitable provisions for the integration of the staffs of the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. into a single staff for the merged federation.

(G) Merger of existing state and local central bodies of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. shall be accomplished within two years after the date of the merger of the two national federations by the process of negotiation and agreement under the guidance of the officers of the merged federation. Pending the conclusion of such agreements, state and local central bodies of both the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. shall be permitted to continue to exist as state and local central bodies representing the respective local unions now affiliated to such central bodies.

Conclusion

The members of the Joint A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Unity Committee proudly and unanimously submit and recommend the foregoing agreement to both federations.

The adoption of the agreement will bring about honorable, organic labor unity.

It will contribute to the strength and effectiveness of the trade union movement and to the economic well-being of working men and women throughout the land.

It will materially benefit the entire nation.

It will add strength to the free trade union movement of the world.

It will realize a long-cherished goal.

The Meany-Reuther Statement

Following is the text of the joint statement issued at Miami Beach on February 9 by George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor, and Walter Reuther, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations:

THE agreement reached today by the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. Unity Committee sets the course for the attainment of a merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations into

a united trade union movement. This agreement—if accepted by the executive bodies of our two organizations, as we hope and expect—will mark the end of the division in the free trade union movement of our country that has existed for almost twenty years.

It is our belief that a united labor movement will be able to devote the talent and strength of our trade unions to greater service to the people of the United States. At this time in our history, when this country and all the free world are beset by the challenge of Soviet Commu-



George Meany and Walter Reuther worked in close harmony. The former is to be named president of merged federation

nist totalitarianism, a united labor movement will best be able to mobilize the working men and women of this country toward the defense of our free institutions and toward the development of full employment and greater security for all the people.

We pledge that, as unity develops, labor in America will place itself at the service of the American public and will, by its responsibility and sense of dedication to our democratic ideals, help build a better nation and a stronger free world.



Secretary of the new organization will be William F. Schnitzler

This agreement will preserve the identity and the integrity of the more than 140 trade unions now affiliated with the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. They will continue, under this plan, to conduct their own individual collective bargaining with employers, as in the past.

The agreement provides a mechanism for voluntary—not compulsory—merger of individual trade unions in the same field. Through arrangements to be worked out, the members of all affiliated trade unions and the general public can be assured that the swift progress made during the past two years toward the elimination of “raids” and “jurisdictional disputes” will be continued.

This agreement will be submitted to the A. F. of L. Executive Council for ratification on Thursday, February 10, at Miami Beach, and to an early meeting of the C.I.O. Executive Board, a date for which will be announced soon.

If both these bodies ratify the agreement reached today, committees from the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. will begin the task of writing a constitution for the merged

organization. That draft constitution will be referred for ratification to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and the Executive Board of the C.I.O. later this year.

When and if they ratify the new constitution, it will then be submitted to the conventions of the two bodies for their approval. Then a joint convention of the new organization will be called.

We are setting no time schedule for this process. We are hopeful that if the agreement and the draft constitution are ratified, the merged new organization can be established before the end of the year.

The members of the Joint A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Unity Committee express their pleasure that an honorable agreement, in a complex and difficult field, was so speedily obtained. We pledge our support to its ratification by our respective trade union organizations.

We feel confident that merger of the two union groups which we represent will be a boon to our nation and its people in this tense period. We are happy that, in our way, we have been able to help bring about unity of the American labor movement at a time when the unity of all the American people is most urgently needed in the face of the Communist threat to world peace and civilization.

Far-reaching nature of the historic decision is reflected in the faces of Harry C. Bates, head of Bricklayers, and David McDonald, president, United Steelworkers of America





The Council got down to business Feb. 1 and held one of the busiest sessions on record. Seated, from left to right, are A. J. Hayes, Secretary Schnitzler, President Meany, Matthew Woll and Daniel J. Tobin. Standing, in same order: Herman Winter, J. C. Petrillo, W. L. McFetridge, D. W. Tracy, Dave Beck, M. A. Hutcheson, W. C. Birthright, William Doherty, David Dubinsky, Harry C. Bates and Charles J. MacGowan

Executive Council Acts

THE A. F. OF L.-C.I.O. MERGER AGREEMENT was approved unanimously February 10 by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, in session at Miami Beach. The action came on the closing day of the Council's meeting. The Council's approval of the labor unity plan was the first of a series of formal ratifications required before the twenty-year division ends officially. [The Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations is scheduled to act on the merger plan at a meeting in Washington on February 24.]

Earlier in the meeting, the Council called on the Eisenhower Administration for "bold and effective" steps to assure a prosperous economy and curb the threat of growing unemployment. Unless the pace of economic activity is sharply stepped up in the coming months, the Council warned, unemployment in excess of 4,000,000 is to be expected. The leaders of the American Federation of Labor urged "immediate action to help bolster the purchasing power of the low- and middle-income families who constitute the overwhelming proportion of our population."

The Executive Council called for repeal by Congress of notorious Section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Act. This is the union-wrecking section

which gives state law precedence over the federal statute—if the state law is tougher on labor. Section 14-B has already enabled seventeen states to pass the grossly unfair "right to work" laws aimed at emasculating trade unions. Similar measures are now pending in many other states.

"From the standpoint of free trade unionism and the future economic security of the nation," the Council said, "this is the big issue now before Congress."

President Eisenhower was given backing in his program of resistance to Communist aggression in the Far East. The Executive Council urged that even stronger measures be taken by the United States, in cooperation with other democratic nations, to check the Moscow-Peiping Axis.

"We strongly warn against any attempt, under cover of pursuing the armistice pattern set in Korea and Indochina, to grant the Russian-imposed Mao Tse-tung terror regime American recognition and to smuggle it into the United Nations," the Council said. "The issue in this theater of strife and combat involves far more than the possession of any particular island. The fate of all Asia and consequently the fate of the entire world is at stake here."

The Executive Council sent an appeal to 20,000,000 organized European workers to support

the rearming of Western Germany. A special appeal went to the West German Federation of Labor, which has been opposing rearmament. The workers of Western Germany were reminded that there is a difference between aggressive militarism of the old-fashioned Prussian type and defensive rearmament.

The statement of the Executive Council said:

"In furtherance of world peace and freedom, the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. strongly urges the free trade union movements of Britain, France, West Germany, Italy and the Benelux countries to take the lead in rallying their nations for the speediest adoption of the London-Paris agreements as the indispensable next step in developing international democratic unity strong enough to deter further Soviet military aggression."

The statement pointed out that "close cooperation of democratic Germany with the Western democracies, sharing the responsibilities of the West European union for peace," would provide "that national dignity and strength and that bulwark against revival of German military aggrandizement so essential to winning world opinion for the support of a German national unity in freedom."

The Executive Council denounced the National Labor Relations Board, which has been dominated by appointees of President Eisenhower, for "interpreting" the Taft-Hartley Act to convert it into an even more anti-labor statute than it was originally. The Council also criticized Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell and the Administration for permitting wage-chiseling on government contracts.

In their blistering attack on the present National Labor Relations Board, the leaders of the American Federation of Labor listed a long series of cases in which the Board went out of its way to twist the law against unions.

"The whole trend of decisions in the past year," the Council charged, "was aimed deliberately at effecting anti-labor changes in the law which Big Business had desired but failed to get Congress to approve."

President Eisenhower was urged to fill the vacancy now existing in the Labor Board with a member fair to labor. If he were to appoint another pro-business member, the Council said, his action would be equivalent to "packing the Supreme Court."

"We believe that President Eisenhower has the opportunity of correcting a national disgrace by choosing an outstanding fair and unbiased fifth member of the Board, thus restoring equal justice under the law to the workers of this country," the Council declared.

In the criticism of Secretary Mitchell for inadequate enforcement of existing legislation against chiseling and failure to ask Congress for more effective new legislation, the leaders of the American Federation of Labor pointed out that "the well-being of millions of skilled and semi-skilled craftsmen" is threatened.

The Secretary of Labor did not like the criticism. He sent a telegram denying the charges. Richard J. Gray,



Plumbers' President Durkin discussed the economic outlook with George M. Harrison, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and member of A. F. of L. Council



A joke was shared by Vice-Presidents David Dubinsky and Charles MacGowan



Defense mobilization facts were presented by Arthur Flemming

president of the Building and Construction Trades Department, answered him, saying:

"I have charged before and I charge again the Labor Department as constituted today is nothing more and nothing less than a transmittal agency with absolutely no enforcement authority to protect the rights of building and construction trades workers."

The Executive Council emphatically disapproved the plan of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen to merge with the Fur Workers Union, which was kicked out of the C.I.O. several years ago as a Communist-ruled organization. The A. F. of L. union was warned against going ahead with the merger despite the Council's disapproval.

ATOMS AND LABOR

By **ANDREW J. BIEMILLER**

Secretary, A. F. of L. Atomic Energy Committee

THE American Federation of Labor is concerned with atomic energy development because of its direct and vital bearing upon the organized labor movement and because we represent a broad segment of the American community interested in the welfare of our country.

As citizens and taxpayers as well as workers, our membership has contributed its share in developing the atomic energy program for national defense and security. We have a stake, as do all other Americans, in this program. Now that atomic resources made possible by the expenditure of billions of dollars from the national treasury are to be devoted to atomic power and other industrial purposes, we expect and indeed insist that the benefits of this huge public investment be widely shared rather than closely held by a favored few.

The last three conventions of the American Federation of Labor spent much time in consideration of the future of this new vital source of power. A. F. of L. representatives appeared before the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy at the 1953 and 1954 hearings and presented our views in some detail. Our deep and abiding interest in atomic energy was further evidenced by the adoption, at the American Federation of Labor convention last September, of a resolution creating a permanent Committee on Atomic Energy to be composed of the president of the A. F. of L. as chairman and such additional members as he may appoint.

The committee was authorized and directed to—

(1) Keep abreast of atomic energy developments so that the membership of the A. F. of L. may be kept fully informed.

(2) Make recommendations to the end that public policy and the private effort involved in the development of



MR. BIEMILLER

atomic energy will serve the best interests of the American people as workers, consumers and citizens.

(3) Undertake continuing study and research into the development and conversion of atomic energy for industrial and civilian use.

(4) Anticipate the needs of the nation for skilled manpower in the conversion of atomic energy to industrial and civilian use, and make recommendations for training such manpower.

(5) Cooperate with the government and with industry in carrying out the foregoing objectives.

(6) Obtain such technical and other assistance as may be necessary to carry out the foregoing purposes.

In official policy statements during the past three years, the A. F. of L.'s annual conventions have made clear our belief that—

(1) National security must come first in any legislation affecting atomic energy.

(2) Our country is at the threshold of developing atomic energy for peacetime civilian uses.

(3) This development must proceed as promptly as possible but in

an orderly and equitable manner for bringing maximum benefits to all our citizens.

(4) Private industry has an important and vital role to play in this development but at all times our government must be in a position to prescribe necessary terms and conditions for private participation.

(5) Maximum safeguards against monopoly must be created.

(6) Free collective bargaining must accompany the introduction of free competitive enterprise.

The American Federation of Labor followed closely the course of the legislation enacted by the last Congress. We believe that the bill as passed is, on the whole, a good one, but we have certain reservations regarding the clauses dealing with monopoly and patent problems. We also believe that a serious mistake was made in dropping Section 7b of the old McMahon Act which required a full report to the President and Congress on the social, political, economic and international effects of industrial and commercial use of fissionable material and atomic energy.

In this connection our 1953 convention in St. Louis had said:

"As recognized in the original McMahon Act, the introduction of atomic energy for use as a source of productive power may lead to substantial economic dislocations. In order to assure orderly introduction of this new source of power, without impeding technological progress, it is important that the necessary controls, including government licensing arrangements, be maintained to govern the industrial application and private use of atomic energy. Such licensing and other controls over use of atomic power should not be put into effect before a full report has been made to Congress by the Atomic Energy Commission of the social and economic consequences of such use and a full

public review of its implications."

The A. F. of L. regrets that the new law was passed without any study having been presented. The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy has scheduled hearings on the problems created by the new law. We will follow those proceedings very closely. The most immediate pressing problem will be the ground rules which the Atomic Energy Commission will develop to govern the use of atomic energy by private industry. In this connection our 1954 convention said:

"Because this nation must remain vigilant against the possibility of Communist aggression, the A. F. of L. must continue to support in full the program to develop and expand the military uses of atomic energy, including the necessary additions to the nation's stockpile of atomic and other nuclear weapons.

"At the same time we must press forward with the peacetime development of atomic energy. We must demonstrate to the world that the atom can become the servant of man, not the means for man's destruction.

* * * The most important peacetime use of atomic energy will be as a new source of power. This new source of power has been the direct result of the investment, through taxes, of more than \$11,000,000,000 by the American people. It is thus the American people, not any individual or corporate enterprise, whose interest must remain paramount as this nation proceeds to harness the atom for electric energy.

"This does not mean that the door must be closed to private commercial development of the atom. On the contrary, we believe that private initiative, investment and management can operate in this field to the benefit of all, provided ample safeguards are assured through legislative and administrative action to protect the public interest. Arrangements regarding granting of patents, ownership and management of generating plants and the distribution of the resulting power are particularly critical issues since the manner in which they are handled may determine whether a monopoly of one or at most a few firms is permitted to develop in this giant industry of tomorrow."

The development of atomic energy has not come from private individuals working for a private profit. Rather it has come from billions of

A. F. of L. Atomic Energy Committee

President George Meany is chairman of the A. F. of L. Atomic Energy Committee. **Andrew J. Biemiller**, member of the A. F. of L.'s National Legislative Committee, is secretary. The other members of the Atomic Energy Committee, in alphabetical order, are **James A. Brownlow**, president, Metal Trades Department; **Robert Byron**, president, Sheet Metal Workers International Association; **William A. Calvin**, president, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers; **Martin P. Durkin**, president, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada; **Richard J. Gray**, president, Building and Construction Trades Department; **A. J. Hayes**, president, International Association of Machinists; **Anthony E. Matz**, president, International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers; **William L. McFetridge**, president, Building Service Employees International Union; **J. Scott Milne**, president, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; and **Edward R. Moffett**, the president of the International Chemical Workers Union.

dollars invested by the taxpayers. The labor movement insists that the peacetime utilization of atomic power must be for the welfare of all Americans.

In the construction and operation of America's atomic energy plants the Atomic Energy Commission has relied on a number of the largest industrial companies in our country. As a result these companies have had for some time and will continue to have access to a vast storehouse of highly privileged atomic information.

Unless firmly administered public policies prevent it, these concerns will be in a position to put information

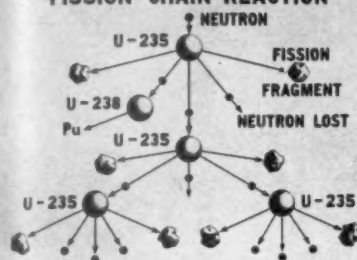
and know-how they derive from the otherwise secret governmental operations to their exclusive private gain. If left free to make exclusive use of such information, these firms could easily monopolize, dominate or even restrict the future production of atomic energy for their private advantage.

The A. F. of L. wants no possibility of cartelism in the atomic field. We want competitive free enterprise, not the dead hand of an outmoded European economic theory which has so tragically stopped the development of a dynamic economy in Europe and prevented the lifting of the standard



William A. Calvin (left), chief of Boilermakers and Blacksmiths, and **Metal Trades President Brownlow** at atomic group meeting

FISSION CHAIN REACTION



of living which our country has experienced. Therefore, the A. F. of L. will support legislation in this Congress designed to strengthen antitrust and cross-licensing provisions.

There are also some questions of labor-management relations in the atomic energy field which need attention. Labor-management relations in the atomic energy program have not always been of the happiest. This vast new field of endeavor was launched in wartime under military auspices. The Manhattan District was organized by the Army Engineers. The stringent secrecy requirements, so necessary at the outset in producing the atomic bomb, have placed heavy obstacles in the way of collective bargaining and the normal routine of union-sponsored activities.

The American Federation of Labor gave all-out cooperation in working for continuous, uninterrupted production on atomic projects. We voluntarily waived many collective bargaining rights and cooperated fully with a necessarily strict security program. We recognize that in a weapons program strict security is essential.

From the start the Manhattan Engineer District selected large industrial concerns to operate the program. This practice was continued by the Atomic Energy Commission, although the duties and responsibilities vested in the A.E.C. by Congress did not necessarily require it as a matter of law. American industry and labor, working with scientists, engineers and administrators, have done an outstanding job in atomic energy. However, one unfortunate aspect of the contractor method has been the management-oriented position of the Atomic Energy Commission. That legacy of the Manhattan Engineer District is still in evidence.

It is worth noting that the Atomic

Energy Commissioners and those holding top jobs in the A.E.C. have been drawn from the legal profession, government, business and finance. Corporation lawyers, investment bankers and government bureaucrats would seem to be blessed in some mysterious manner with a genius for administering atomic energy affairs that has been denied to union leaders and officials. Labor contends that in its ranks are many able and public-spirited administrators who could bring a fresh view to the A.E.C. and its work and perform a very useful service.

The A. F. of L. appreciates the need for rigorous security in the weapons program. But we do not intend to permit the cry of security to be used as a club by management interests who make profits from the atom to beat down legitimate activities of labor.

We insist that if there is to be free private enterprise in the atomic field so must there be free collective bargaining.

We know that there will always remain certain legitimate security problems in the atomic field, and we shall at all times be ready to sit down and discuss these problems with appropriate officials. In this connection we urged the last Congress to create a Labor-Management Advisory

Committee. We believe such an advisory group would be invaluable in helping the A.E.C. to formulate administrative policies and procedures which would facilitate amicable labor relations and orderly progress in atomic energy development. This proposal will be renewed this year, and we hope that the new Congress will act favorably.

We firmly believe that a statutory Labor-Management Advisory Committee would be of great value to the A.E.C. in formulating ground rules for labor-management relations in the atomic field, for developing safety programs and for advising the A.E.C. on problems of social and economic policy arising from the impact of peacetime atomic development.

American labor sees a tremendous future ahead if all the elements in the atomic picture can develop a true sense of cooperation. The tremendous potential for good—the great advances in the standard of living that can be realized in this century—should never be forgotten. We believe that a true working family partnership of government, scientists, industry and labor—with none of the partners looked upon as an unwanted stepchild—can open the path to a glorious world of the future which can banish poverty from the face of the earth.

To that goal the American Federation of Labor is dedicated.

A Place for the Wives

WHY should the wives of union men belong to an auxiliary? The answer to this question was given by Mrs. Ross Ingram at a Machinists' dinner in Danville, Illinois. She spoke as a representative of Machinists' Auxiliary No. 210.

First of all, Mrs. Ingram said, membership in an auxiliary is worthwhile because an auxiliary helps wives to have a better understanding of the problems facing their husbands and other union men. Then, too, she pointed out, women who belong to auxiliaries learn how to play more intelligent and more effective roles in political action. The modern auxiliary takes the time to inform members about the national, state and local candidates for public office—which ones have proved themselves favorable to the interests of organized labor

and which ones are opposed to the advancement of the working people.

Through union auxiliaries, Mrs. Ingram declared, wives of union men learn the importance of buying only union goods and making use only of union-performed services.

"Studies have shown," she said, "that women do most of the buying for the family. And it is up to the women, in most cases, to see that union wages are spent to buy union goods and services."

The speaker also called attention to the philanthropic activities of union auxiliaries. They try to help those who are in need, she said. Mrs. Ingram noted, too, that auxiliaries help to draw union families closer together. This is accomplished through parties, picnics, potluck suppers and other social affairs of auxiliaries.

How labor serves America
and keeps hope alive
for mankind everywhere

LABOR'S MANY CONTRIBUTIONS

By A. J. HAYES

President, International Association of Machinists

EVEN in their moments of triumph, free men must still face the eternal problem of remaining free. As was written long ago, liberty belongs only to those who strive constantly to protect and perfect their freedoms. In America it was the creation of the labor movement more than 100 years ago—by the workers themselves—which enabled them to safeguard and make meaningful for their kind of people the shining concepts of freedom which were first proclaimed for all mankind in our Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights.

The American labor movement, in the last sixty years, has grown from less than 500,000 members to nearly 17,000,000. This growth in numbers has been matched by the attainment of more and more of labor's goals through the development of its influence and of its opportunities to use that influence to benefit ever-increasing numbers of people within and without its ranks.

The contributions organized labor has made to the general advance of the country's economy have benefited every segment of society. Consider wages. All rational persons will agree that the unions are responsible for the present American wage rates. Wages are purchasing power, and purchasing power is the lifeblood of American progress. It creates demand for industrial and farm products, for services, for entertainment—for everything which is produced or obtainable in the marketplace. The demand for and purchase of such things stimulate their production. All of this creates jobs and more purchasing power, better business and more profits.

High wage rates, therefore, cannot



MR. HAYES

be construed as a self-serving scheme which benefits only the wage-earner. High wages are the key to national prosperity. It is good for the whole United States.

Other examples of the relationship of labor's accomplishments and the social welfare are short hours, paid vacations, paid holidays and other such items.

A short workday and reduction of overtime distribute jobs to the whole work force. Vacation and holiday leisure raise the cultural standards of the whole population. The pursuit of happiness was a cardinal purpose of the creation of the United States, and it was stated as the birthright of *all* men—not just the rich and privileged. All work and no play for the working class was not in the scheme of America. That is what made it different from the Old World, from which it declared its independence. That difference was the beacon light

of this land which drew our ancestors to this country. It created the American dream.

Organized labor is responsible for a long list of legislation. All such laws on the statute books of our local, state and federal governments which alleviate disadvantages or suffering of the plain people bear the touch of organized labor. The laws which prevent child labor, which protect women in industry, which guarantee a minimum wage, which outlaw the long workday, which assure compensation for industrial accidents, for unemployment benefits, for old-age pensions, and so forth, are good laws. They benefit and are a credit to the whole United States.

These contributions of organized labor to the nation are not readily admitted by everyone. One does not often see this phase of organized labor publicized in the daily papers or in the shrewdly conceived anti-labor propaganda so often carried in magazines. It is much more common to see publicized across the land a type of propaganda which plays up and exaggerates the mistakes and weaknesses of organized labor without weighing them against the great social good which labor, in its long struggle against great odds, has accomplished for the country as a whole.

Contrary to the active propaganda of the anti-labor forces, business, industry and evolution were not solely or largely responsible for the progress of our country. The organized labor movement, with all of its faults and weaknesses, has made a very significant contribution to our over-all progress. If there had not been an organized labor movement in the United States, the people of this coun-

try would not now be enjoying the highest standard of living in the world.

We of organized labor feel with pride the greatness of our country. It is a good country. Lots of people and different forces have made it so. The organized labor movement has helped. This country belongs to all of us. It was originally and has been over all the years and is now a common man's land. Ordinary people have made the miracle which is America. That is our great significance in the struggle around the world against communism. And in that contest organized labor is making its paramount contribution to the nation.

In our foreign aid and cooperation programs with other countries where the hope of freedom still lives, what did the United States hold aloft to the peoples of these countries to see as proof that a free and democratic form of government is better than communism? America threw the searchlight on the things which organized labor has helped to bring about—the living standards and the cultural status of the plain people. We did not boast about the high profits of industry and the wealth of the more favored citizens. We talked about the welfare of the common man. It is entirely proper that the government did this because the high standards of working-class life in the United States are our greatest insulation against the appeal of the Communists.

THE accomplishments of organized labor, as they are reflected in the living standards of American workers, have served Uncle Sam well in the worldwide fight against communism. Moreover, the trade unions have wholeheartedly cooperated with the government agencies concerned with selling a democratic way of life to the peoples of the world. Through the International Labor Organization, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the International Transport Workers Federation and other international organizations of free trade unions, we have established a friendly and understanding relationship with trade unions in every free country of the world.

That relationship is based upon a mutuality with other free peoples and also with those who yearn to be free. It is an invaluable asset to our country in this complex and dangerous

world struggle. It is for this reason, as well as for humanitarian reasons, that the United States has assisted such other countries financially and otherwise ever since the end of World War II.

The membership of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions is 54,000,000 workers located in seventy-four countries and territories throughout the free world. It is by far the largest organization dedicated to democracy and actively opposing communism on a world scale.

Labor in the United States has representatives scattered throughout the free world assisting foreign unions and cooperating with our government in the gigantic struggle against the spread of world communism. The contribution to democracy in the present crisis that this trade union action makes is immeasurable.

Because of organized labor's close relationship and cooperation with the free labor movements of the world, we know that our country's general attitude which accompanied its material assistance to the free nations after World War II gained for the United States the genuine friendship of their people. In this connection, we in the American labor movement are somewhat alarmed to note that the situation seems to be changing. More and more of our allies have serious doubts as to our real objectives. This development has complicated organized labor's efforts to assist our government in maintaining and strengthening our ties with other free nations.

The American Federation of Labor's cooperation with free trade unions in other parts of the world is based upon mutuality, on the conviction that we need each other, that we have common problems and similar objectives, and also that we have common responsibilities. Those responsibilities are to strive and fight for freedom, for dignity, for self-

respect and for a better standard of life for the submerged people of the world wherever they may be. We believe that in such a continuing struggle to improve the lot of the forgotten, helpless people of the world, we and all those who are allied with us in the undertaking will have a continuing and common opposition from our common enemies—communism and fascism.

For several years there has been a steady taking away of the rights and privileges of ordinary citizens of our country—the farmers and the city workers. Our school system is being allowed to deteriorate. We have refused to face up to our national health problem. And we are giving away some of our greatest natural re-

sources. At the same time, demagoguery has risen to frightening heights in Congress.

This taking away from some to give to others has not gone unnoticed by the plain average citizen overseas. The common people of Britain, France, Italy, India and the Far East are beginning to wonder if all the things we hold aloft to them are really true and are becoming more susceptible to lies the Communists broadcast about us. Our friends abroad naturally expect us to practice what we preach.

For 200 years America has been the symbol of freedom all over the world, a symbol which attracted our forefathers to our shores. This was a land of the free, a land of equal opportunity—not only for the landed gentry, for the rich aristocracy—it was also for the common man. And the common man, under our system of government, has in a measure made the promise of America come true.

We in the organized labor movement will continue to pursue that course here at home to benefit America and to keep aloft a gleam of hope for mankind to be free everywhere in the world.



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All orders should be sent to THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, American Federation of Labor Building, Washington 1, D. C.



Numerically, women are holding the lead over the men

WOMEN AND ELECTIONS

By **MARGARET THORNBURGH**

Director, Women's Division, Labor's League for Political Education

WOMEN have entered into a new political era, an era where those who wish a fair and equitable standard of living must fight for what they believe in. With more and more restrictive measures being introduced in the State Legislatures and in Congress, it has become a challenge to women who are directly or indirectly affiliated with the organized labor movement to join with their husbands and families to halt the fierce assault which endangers the future existence of the principles we believe in.

It seems only natural that women who are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor should believe in and become leaders in political education programs. As early as 1888 the A. F. of L. first took its position in regard to women being granted equal rights in politics. In that year it sent a petition to Congress praying for adoption of an amendment granting the right to vote to women. All through the years since 1888 the A. F. of L. has main-

tained the position that women should be granted equal rights in politics. When Labor's League for Political Education, the political arm of the A. F. of L., was formed, the women who were themselves trade unionists became members of the League with the same vote and voice as the men.



MRS. THORNBURGH

In 1954 the League extended its policies even further when it opened the door for the families of trade union members to become active in politics on an equal basis with the regular A. F. of L. membership. Women were most responsive to the invitation. They joined with the state and local branches of the L.L.P.E. and worked effectively to help elect liberal-thinking candidates last November.

The program of the Women's Division of Labor's League will be an active one this year. It will demonstrate why it is necessary for women to participate in politics and explain what they are going to try to accomplish. Each year greater numbers of women are going to the polls to

cast their votes; and with women controlling almost 52 per cent of the national potential vote, it has become a "must" for them to realize the direct effect which legislative action taken on the state and national levels has on their standard of living.

During the census sampling check in July of 1940 it was found that women had taken the lead from the men. Subsequent checks have shown the number of women to be increasing, and in July of last year the check revealed that women controlled the national potential vote by 51.9 per cent. There were then 2,122,000 more women 21 years of age or older than there were men.

With women holding the balance of power at the polls, it is urgent that they come to realize the importance of their votes and the effect that the manner in which they cast their votes has on the future welfare of their families.

The wives, mothers, daughters and sisters of our A. F. of L. members have a terrific stake in our economic and political system. When one stops to ponder the question: "Why should I become interested in politics?" from a woman's point of view, the answer is revealing and to some, I am quite sure, amazing.

First and foremost, the collective

bargaining contracts covering women workers or the male members of their families are in serious jeopardy as a result of the continued drives by the reactionary forces of the nation to weaken or destroy the union movement. Secondly, our active women members over the years led the fights for better legislation governing the lives of our women and children—such as equal pay for women doing the same work as men, the standard workweek, better sanitary conditions, elimination of child labor and provision of better schools for all.

AT THE present time there are seventeen states with so-called "right to work" laws. This vicious legislation in itself is a challenge to every woman who is affiliated either directly or indirectly with organized labor to become active in politics.

The evils of state "right to work" laws cannot be overestimated. The Women's Division of L.L.P.E. plans to take an active part in the fight to repeal such legislation where it has been enacted and to work to prevent the passage of any further "right to work" laws.

Labor's League for Political Education has requested each State Federation of Labor and central labor union to assist the national Women's Division in forming state and local branches of the L.L.P.E. Women's Division. Our program for the future will include regular group meetings to discuss legislative issues as well as the best methods of canvassing voters. We will also urge our Women's Division groups to cooperate with the officers of the State Federations of Labor and central labor unions to the fullest extent.

It is the aim of the Women's Division of Labor's League to service our affiliated organizations over and above what is normally done by the major political parties. It is our desire to become a useful working factor in the political movement, admired and respected by all concerned.

Women's Division members will attend L.L.P.E. meetings and familiarize themselves with the problems confronting organized labor. They will take an active part in advancing bills which would create a better way of life for working people and against bills that would be detrimental to the average citizen.

Our local Women's Divisions will

prove their value to the local unions. It is part of our program for the women to study the voting laws in their respective states so they may assist our members to become eligible to vote.

In the states that still require the payment of poll taxes, the Women's Divisions will assist the local unions by making a check of their membership lists against the poll tax lists and will take full responsibility for notifying the members who have not paid their poll taxes of the expiration date for payment.

In the states that have registration requirements, the Women's Divisions will assist the local unions during the registration period by forming register-to-vote telephone teams. Those who either have never registered or for some reason need to re-register will be strongly urged to do so. They will also notify each local union member where he may register and on what dates he may do so. On Election Day the women plan to follow through by forming telephone teams to urge all voters to go to the polls.

Women are making a study of legislative proposals and of bills introduced and passed. It is their intention to help labor secure the enactment of legislation sought by work-

ing people through the use of women's strength at the polls to elect liberal candidates.

During the 1956 campaign this nation will witness greater political participation by women than in any previous year. They have the determination and, above all, the patience to canvass their friends and neighbors to see, first, that they are registered and qualified to vote and, second, that on Election Day they go to the polls. To foster intelligent voting, our various Women's Divisions will distribute our pamphlets explaining the legislative matters in which our movement has an interest.

The national Women's Division is encouraging women to continue activities in civic organizations such as the P.T.A., home demonstration clubs, church groups, garden clubs and community fund drives. It is our aim in the future to encourage more women to participate in such civic groups. Women's Division members can show women who are not connected with organized labor what the principles and the purposes of the trade union movement are.

As each new Women's Division is formed, the names of the president and the secretary are placed on the L.L.P.E. mailing list so that they may receive L.L.P.E. literature and legis-

Is Security Worth One Dollar to You!

AGAIN this year Labor's League for Political Education will conduct a fund-raising drive. Money must be raised through voluntary \$1 contributions so that L.L.P.E. will be in a position to help deserving Southern candidates in the decisive tests which will take place early next year.

To boost the chances of Southern liberals, such as Senators Lister Hill of Alabama and Olin Johnston of South Carolina, it is vital that working people contribute voluntarily to L.L.P.E. this year, well before the crucial primaries which will be held in the early months of 1956. In almost every district in the Southland, primary winners are assured of election.

If A. F. of L. members were to wait until 1956 before contributing their dollars to Labor's League, it would be too late to prevent the loss of Southern Senators and Representatives who are solid friends of the people who toil. Therefore, in this "off year," every member will be asked to make a voluntary contribution of just \$1 to Labor's League for Political Education. We know, that, as usual, reactionary office-seekers, the enemies of labor, will be well supplied with funds. On our side, we must not fall down on the liberal, able legislators who have waged the good fight in defense of labor's rights.

lative reports. The legislative reports describe the bills as good for working people or detrimental to those who toil. Voting records giving detailed information as to how Senators and Representatives voted on measures of concern to labor will be mailed to state and local Women's Divisions upon request.

The Women's Divisions will study the voting records. Where they find that a legislator voted for reactionary legislation and voted against the proposals fair to labor, they will work to defeat him in the next election. If the women find that a legislator has voted for a constructive, liberal program, they will work to help reelect him. The Women's Divisions everywhere will base their decisions on the factual reports published under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor.

Labor's League for Political Education and the state branches of L.L.P.E. will act as the governing bureaus under which the Women's Divisions will operate. When anti-labor legislation is introduced in Congress, the national L.L.P.E. in Washington will flash the danger signal to warn our entire membership. The state L.L.P.E. in each state will sound the alert whenever a bill is introduced on the state level that needs action by local unions and our Women's Division membership.

The various Women's Divisions will be ready to move quickly on the information released by the national League and by the state branches of L.L.P.E.

Next year will be a banner year as far as women's participation goes. So contact your friends and urge them to join the Women's Division.

The fight against the levying of poll taxes, for repeal of state "right to work" laws, for more and better school construction, for a higher minimum wage, for improved unemployment insurance and for better-enforced child labor laws will be the important issues to be tackled.

The Women's Divisions of L.L.P.E. intend to work and fight for the principles we believe in—through our united power at the ballot box.

Join **L.L.P.E.**

Protect Yourself. It Costs Only \$1.

Commenting on the News

By EDWARD P. MORGAN

IN the Davenport Hotel in Spokane, ex-Senator Harry Cain made a speech to a group of about 200 local Republican leaders of his state. It was an astonishing speech.

In Congress, Cain had become known as a McCarthyite. On the issue of "Communists in government" some of his opponents on occasion accused him of trying to "out-McCarthy" the junior Senator from Wisconsin. But in his Spokane speech Cain loosed a devastating attack on the Eisenhower Administration's policy in dealing with security risks.

He said the whole program is in urgent need of overhaul, lest it make "cowards and mental robots out of free men and women."

"We have constructed an apparatus," said the ex-Senator, "which can destroy us if we don't watch out."

It may be just one of the ironies of politics that a man who seemed so ruthlessly enthusiastic about the construction of that apparatus should now be frightened of the machine it has become.

No battle star is likely to go to Harry Cain for bravery. Others were sounding these warnings at a time when he was inclined to label them as "Red" for doing so. But a man has a right to change his mind. The ex-Senator spoke to conservative citizens in a conservative community, like many communities where in the past men have become suspect simply by raising a controversial subject.

ABOUT a year and a half ago Congress made a law called the Refugee Relief Act. It authorized 214,000 foreigners to come to the United States by the end of 1956.

They are homeless refugees, war orphans, persons who have fled the Curtain countries, uprooted Germans, Poles and others. These 214,000 are in addition to those who may enter the U.S. under regular immigration laws. By last New Year's Eve, 13,056 of these hapless people had reached these shores.

Christopher Columbus could hardly have had a much more complicated time getting here; in fact, if he had had to follow the same procedure, he

might not have discovered America at all.

The average time it took one of these new immigrants to get a visa was 126 days. The *Nina*, the *Pinta* and the *Santa Maria* made it across the water in seventy.

AT his news conference President Eisenhower seemed to be trying to tell us that the cold facts of life couldn't always add up to victory, in the ball game sense. The President didn't want to say, one way or another, whether he thought a stalemate would be a good result in the Formosa crisis. But to this reporter, at least, he seemed to invite the inference of "yes."

It was interesting to note that the word "stalemate" suggested to the President almost instantly another word, "co-existence." But he firmly rejected the idea that "co-existence" was a synonym for still another word, "appeasement."

In his mind, "co-existence" meant simply a state of our "being," with neither side attempting to destroy the other. But then somebody comes along and pins an adjective on "co-existence" and suddenly it becomes appeasement *a la* Munich. To Eisenhower, this wasn't the meaning of co-existence at all.

GEORGE Bernard Shaw once said that man would never give up war until the pageantry and the excitement were cut out of it.

There wasn't much dancing in the streets at Hiroshima. There isn't much of a pageant in prospect in the expert's description of what Manhattan Island would look like under an H-bomb burst.

As for excitement, peace can be exciting—if hard work. The struggle for peace, Secretary Dulles said, cannot be won by pacifism or by neutralism or by weakness. It has to be planned as a campaign.

It can be an exciting campaign, one ventures to suggest, if we don't take the smug view that German rearmament, for instance, is a kind of magic by which, *presto*, we prevent World War III.

Engineers Need Unionism

By **GEORGE MEANY**
President, American Federation of Labor

THERE is no doubt nor should there be any argument concerning the value of the professional engineering societies and their interest in maintaining the high ethical standards that the engineering profession has set for itself. Every professional engineer concedes that these great societies and associations have assumed the responsibilities for the promotion of the art and science of engineering and the development of engineering practices. Their value to the profession should never be underestimated.

In recent years, however, many of the professional engineering societies have tended to inject themselves into the field of labor-management relations. Many engineering society publications have printed long dissertations on why a professional engineer or technician should not become a member of a union.

Most of these articles have advanced the following arguments:

"Joining a union is undignified or degrading."

"Unions are only for manual workers."

"Engineers are more closely identified with management than with labor."

Some of these articles have been written by professors of engineering in colleges and universities, while others have been contributed by men who are of high rank and position in large engineering corporations or well known in engineering consulting firms.

None of the articles has taken into consideration the attitude and feelings of the hundreds of thousands of engineers and technicians employed for wages or salaries by government or private business.

The economic interests of these employees, who constitute the large majority of those in the profession, have been almost completely neglected by the professional societies.



Union membership provides hope for a better future

The mind and outlook of the engineer working on a salary basis should be free. He should not be held down to the conditions of the horse-and-buggy days. Let us not shackle him with precedents, precepts and traditions about his economic status. Vision and optimism are the motivating forces that make him tick. Yet how can any human being endowed with initiative and creative ability utilize these to the fullest if he is enveloped in an atmosphere that offers little or no hope for the future?

The engineer finds that he is close to the bottom of the wage and salary scale, considering the work that he does. His education and years of experience seem to count for nothing. Then he pauses and reflects; for almost three generations the professionally trained engineers and technicians who work for wages or salaries have been waiting for the professional engineering societies to make even a gesture in their behalf, but the meetings of these groups seldom make any reference to the economic status of this wage-earning class of members.

Representatives of management generally hold all the high offices in these societies, even though the financial support that maintains these groups is drawn mainly from the

wage- and salary-earning engineers and technicians.

Under pressure from the economic circumstances in which they find themselves, more and more engineers are turning for assistance to the recognized union composed exclusively of men and women working for wages and salaries in the engineering profession. This union is the American Federation of Technical Engineers.

Chartered by the American Federation of Labor in 1918, the American Federation of Technical Engineers has expanded rapidly throughout this nation, Canada and the U.S. possessions. Part of the membership works in various government agencies. Committees from the government locals make regular appearances before the Civil Service Committees of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives to present detailed arguments for improving the wages and the working conditions of these workers.

In the industrial field collective bargaining contracts have been negotiated with prominent industrial firms throughout the country. These contracts protect the engineer's job security, assure him adequate compensation and establish a fair procedure for settling grievances.

THE American Federation of Technical Engineers is an autonomous international union affiliated with the A. F. of L. It formulates its own policies without outside interference. A national headquarters is maintained by the A.F.T.E. at 900 F Street N.W., Washington 4, D. C.

The union is a truly democratic organization. Its national officers are chosen by secret ballot biennially at the convention by the votes of the representatives of all of the local unions attending. All of the financial records of the union are audited by a C.P.A. firm, and a full and certified account is presented to the convention before any officer can relinquish his office.



From low spot in income scale, engineers desire to move up

Each local union as organized collects an initiation fee which is retained in its own treasury. Each local also has the right by its own vote to fix its own dues. Local funds also are expended as directed by the vote of the local union. A periodic audit is made and the report is given to all members.

The policies and operations of the American Federation of Technical Engineers have raised the status and dignity of the entire engineering profession. Far from being "undignified" or "degrading," union membership has directly enhanced the standing of engineers in our society by assuring that their contributions are given adequate recognition. By raising standards of pay, assuring greater job security, protecting the individual engineer against arbitrary discharge and

assuring greater opportunities for advancement, the union has provided substantially higher living standards for the average engineer and his family.

The American Federation of Technical Engineers has made these achievements by standing on its own feet. It has not simply trailed along behind the advances made by other workers. In collective bargaining the committees negotiating on behalf of the union are composed of highly educated and experienced engineers. These committees are generally assisted by an officer from the national staff in presenting and conducting the discussions on the wage scale as submitted.

No other organization or union has any voice in formulating the collective bargaining demands of the American Federation of Technical Engineers, nor are the wage and salary rates for members of the A.F.T.E. patterned after the rates or contracts negotiated by any other union.

The gains made by the American Federation of Technical Engineers have not been accomplished at the expense of stifling initiative. Engineers and other union members employed on wages or salaries are generally graded or classified under a system that gives every incentive for initiative and invention. Patent rights of members are protected by articles in the contracts. Regular promotions are made by management on the rated efficiency and application shown during the rating period. Bonuses and full grade promotions are frequently granted for outstanding work or ideas. In fact, only with the support of the union does the engineer feel free to develop and display his very best ef-



Concern of democratic A.F.T.E. is welfare of average employee

forts and his most creative initiative.

Any decisions about joining a labor union has to be made, of course, by each individual engineer or technician. I am confident, however, that under the present circumstances more and more of this group will see the practical advantages that would result from membership in their own democratic trade union, the American Federation of Technical Engineers.

FOR THE NEWS PLUS

LISTEN TO

EDWARD P. MORGAN

WE REPORT PROGRESS

By **RAYMOND F. LEHENY**

*Secretary-Treasurer, Union Label and
Service Trades Department, A. F. of L.*

Mr. Leheny



THIS seems a most opportune time to review the progress of the Union Label and Service Trades Department and to cast an eye toward the future.

As reported to its annual convention in Los Angeles last September, the Department has continued to concentrate its efforts upon the promotion of the union label, shop card and union button. This has been done not only among our own affiliates but, to a limited extent, among the general consuming public.

The fundamental principles of the union label, shop card and union button promotional program have remained the same, although in application the Department has constantly sought to broaden its program wherever feasible in order to utilize effective modern promotion ideas and techniques in communication.

Our basic job is one of education among American Federation of Labor members and the general public. The Union Label and Service Trades Department has sought to maintain a balance between its work among affiliated unions and the outside public. Virtually all known publicity avenues are used constantly to promote demand for union label products.

One of the most rewarding programs of the Department has been the preparation of union label literature for distribution by Department affiliates to their members. This has

been a key program in the effort to form all A. F. of L. members into a solid bloc of purchasers and patrons of union label products and services.

As is the case in all types of promotional activity, one needs more than just a handful of workers to carry out the extensive union label program. In this respect, the Department deeply appreciates the wholehearted cooperation and wise counsel afforded it by President George Meany and Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler of the American Federation of Labor. Likewise, the assistance of Director of Organization Harry E. O'Reilly and his staff has contributed toward the success of the union label program.

The Union Label and Service Trades Department has continued a close liaison with the A. F. of L. Publicity Department. Director Philip Pearl and his staff, through the medium of the ever-growing *AFL News-Reporter*, have been most generous in their allotment of space for news releases, feature articles and photos submitted by our publicity staff.

Extensive coverage has also been given to activities of the Union Label Department by Managing Editor Bernard Tassler of *THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST*.

All this attests to the solid support given us by our great parent organization, the A. F. of L.

In 1954 the period of September 6

through 12 was celebrated nationally as Union Label Week. Established to promote goodwill and better public relations for all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, the celebration was again an outstanding success. To spearhead the national drive, the Union Label and Service Trades Department issued special news releases, photographs, news mats and posters. In addition, Department personnel worked closely with numerous organizations in staging special parades, picnics and exhibits at fairs and in store windows.

One of the most important activities of the Department in recent months has been the organization and reactivation of Union Label and Service Trades Councils in communities throughout the country. At the same time, we have endeavored to strengthen existing local and state councils by establishing sound programs for them to follow. This is a long-range program which will require a lot of grass-roots work by the Department and the councils themselves. However, we feel that this important arm of the union label program can be made truly representative of the huge aggregate purchasing power possessed by the millions of members of the American Federation of Labor.

Council organizational efforts have been concentrated in areas where recent Union-Industries Shows have been held. Outstanding progress was

made last year in forming councils in California prior to our big exposition in Los Angeles. At this writing several new state councils are in the process of being formed. The organizations will help coordinate the activities of local councils in their respective areas and will work in close cooperation with the sponsoring State Federations of Labor.

The importance of the Union Label Councils was stressed by President Meany in his address at our convention in Los Angeles last September. He spoke of the vital need for grassroots participation in the activities of the American Federation of Labor and its Departments. Councils such as those chartered by this Department, President Meany declared, can play an important part in solidifying the Federation while at the same time they promote the idea of the union label, shop card and service button in their respective communities. He urged all national, international, state and local affiliates of the A. F. of L. to get behind this program and to lend wholehearted support to the work of the Union Label Councils.

In addition to the spadework being done by the local and state councils, the union label program has been enthusiastically supported by the American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor.

This organization, with its outstanding leadership, has continued to concern itself with the work of the Department. Its membership constitutes a most potent bloc of consumers.

WOMEN play a great part in the everyday life of our country. Each year we witness the splendid achievements of our so-called "weaker sex" in national, state and local affairs. We have been told by numerous poll-takers that women wield vast power in elections. The male wage-earners know that the family budget is controlled by their wives.

Women spend the largest part of our wages in maintaining our homes and families. The wives and mothers of millions of A. F. of L. members constitute a tremendous purchasing force. We must take advantage of the great opportunity afforded us and continue to utilize the organized women's groups as an adjunct of this Department, and to enlist further their aid in bringing about a better understanding of the problems of mass

union purchasing among all the women, organized or not.

The Union Label and Service Trades Department relies heavily upon public relations. In the promotion of the union label, shop card and union button we have uppermost in our minds the building of greater goodwill, not only for the Department but for our parent organization, our affiliates and the entire labor movement. One has only to look at the advertisements of the great corporations of this country to see that in many instances they appear as vitally interested in winning goodwill as in selling their products. When an institution enjoys public confidence, it is almost always sure to be a success.

Such is the thinking which underlies our own promotional work. We feel that a more comprehensive public understanding of our national and international unions and the skills of their members will lead to an even greater acceptance of the consumer items these union workers produce and of the services performed by union members.

The Public Relations Division of the Department is on the lookout for the newest techniques which can be utilized in the promotion of the union label. There has been a steady increase in the output of news releases, special feature articles, stories of the various union labels, photos, mats, cartoons and posters. This material has been welcomed by the editors of labor newspapers throughout the country and the splendid journals published by our national and international unions. These publications have supported and publicized our activities in a magnificent way. They deserve our gratitude.

The Department maintains contact with daily newspapers, radio and television stations and motion picture studios in an effort to utilize these media whenever an opportunity affords itself.

Our publicity staff has helped affiliated organizations in preparing special promotional material, brochures and radio broadcasts. We have even helped to write motion picture script. We ask all our affiliates to feel free to call upon the personnel of the Union Label Department at any time for assistance in preparing material pertaining to the union label, union shop card or union button.

OUR annual A. F. of L. Union-Industries Show continues to be the pacesetter for the entire world of trade shows and exhibitions. We have been most fortunate in building this great monument to the skills of our members. At the present time the A. F. of L. Union-Industries Show is the largest all-free exhibition staged in America. The growth of the show must be attributed to the splendid cooperation we have received from our many loyal exhibitors, both the A. F. of L. unions and the union employers recommended by them.

Each year finds a host of new and novel exhibits at the Union-Industries Show. The number of free prizes and souvenirs has reached astronomical proportions. The exposition constitutes a tribute to the American Federation of Labor. It is truly a graphic example of Democracy on Display.

Last year's show, the ninth staged by the Department, met with the approval of more than 500,000 spectators who jammed the huge Pan Pacific Auditorium in Los Angeles. So great was the response to "the world's greatest labor-management exhibition" that two-thirds of our exhibitors quickly reserved space for the next show. It will be held at Buffalo in May.

During the past year the Department was pleased to welcome the Building Service Employees International Union into its family of affiliates. This progressive organization affiliated early in 1954 and in a very short time it took its place among our older affiliates in getting enthusiastically behind the various activities of the Department.

As reported to our convention, we feel that we have been making progress. We look to the coming months with confidence.

The convention voted to make four years the term of office for the president and the secretary-treasurer of the Department. All incumbent vice-presidents were reelected for 1955.

We are still experimenting with our magazine, *Guide*. Four issues were published during the past year in order to calculate the acceptance such a publication would receive. If sufficient subscriptions can be obtained to enable us to meet the cost of publication, we can continue to put out this newest magazine on a regular basis. The response to *Guide* has been heart-warming. However,

we shall not go beyond a certain point in attempting to put it over if we are not successful in the immediate future.

We have devoted considerable study to the idea of taking the Union-Industries Show into the South as a filip to the American Federation of Labor organizing program and as a major assist to national and international organizations. We would need the help of the A. F. of L. as well as all unions concerned in organization of the unorganized in the Southland. Without such assistance we would hesitate to take the show into the South. Not all shows can be mammoth affairs and with some we may have a difficult time to break even.

We consider it part of our job in the Union Label and Service Trades Department to assist American Federation of Labor affiliates in developing those areas where the potential

is strong but the atmosphere is decidedly antagonistic. Accordingly, we are now attempting to move Atlanta up in our tentative schedule of coming shows provided that we receive sufficient indication of all-out support.

We are asking that national and international unions affiliated with us afford such tax to the Department as would raise their voting strength one single member at our annual conventions. If this were done, our entire structure would be vastly improved, small as the additional amount may be in relation to working out our future programs. We are making this recommendation to the American Federation of Labor and affiliated organizations.

The American Federation of Labor has called upon organizations not now affiliated with the Union Label and Service Trades Department to

become members of the Department. We hope this recommendation will be followed. We need this added support in order to carry out the broad programs we have formulated.

The Union Label and Service Trades Department is concerned again with our grass roots organization. To that end the program of establishing new label councils will be carried on, particularly in the smaller cities, throughout 1955. Coordination of the councils organized in the past two years will be an important part of our work.

We feel that it is definitely to the advantage of all American Federation of Labor affiliates to aid in the work of the Union Label Department. The tremendous purchasing power of more than 10,000,000 trade union members and their families is labor's most potent economic weapon—if it is recognized and utilized.

Stalwarts of Labor Taken by Death

WILLIAM H. COOPER, secretary-treasurer of the Building Service Employees International Union, is



dead of cancer at the age of 51. A firm believer in clean and democratic unionism, Mr. Cooper won nationwide recognition when he

and William L. McFetridge, who later became the union's president, led a successful struggle against racketeer elements. Mr. Cooper became interested in unionism as a young park worker for the city of Milwaukee, and twenty-five years ago he joined Local 17 in that city.

FREDERICK F. UMHEY, executive secretary of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union



since 1934, is dead after suffering a cerebral hemorrhage. He was 59. Mr. Umhey's position embraced the administrative functions

of the union's general office. He was

charged with the supervision of the union's New York City health center and Unity House, the union-owned resort in Pennsylvania. He acted as secretary of all the standing committees of the Executive Board. From 1940 to 1951 he was an active member of the New York State Advisory Council on Unemployment Insurance. He resigned from the Council when the Legislature passed the iniquitous Hughes-Brees amendments to the Unemployment Insurance Act.

WILLIAM DAVIS, executive assistant to President George M. Harrison



of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, died at Cincinnati after a heart attack. Mr. Harrison delayed his trip to Florida for the meeting of the A. F. of L. Executive

Council to attend the funeral. Mr. Davis was a member of the Railway Clerks' Lodge 185, El Reno, Oklahoma. He began his career on the Texas and Pacific in 1916. He changed to the Kansas City Southern in 1918, and two years later he was elected to the general chairmanship

of the system board. He was a leader in the Railway Clerks' battles with the company union on the K.C.S. Five years ago he advanced to the post at international headquarters which he held until his death.

MICHAEL J. WALSH, A. F. of L. regional director of organization in



New England, with headquarters in Boston, is dead at 64. He was one of the founders of the Boston Street Carmen's Union in 1912. Three

years earlier he had gone to work for the Boston Elevated Street Railway. He became an organizer for the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees. After serving his country during World War I, Mr. Walsh was elected recording secretary of the Amalgamated's Local 589 in Boston. He occupied that office for more than twenty years. He was a labor representative on the Regional War Labor Board during World War II. In 1948 he was named New England director of organization for the A. F. of L.

Yesterday and Today

By **SAL B. HOFFMANN**

President, Upholsterers International Union

THAT there is very little really new under the sun is as true of trade unionism as it was of general human affairs in Solomon's time.

When our international union was founded in Philadelphia by thirteen delegates from eleven local unions in an old German society hall on Cal-lowhill Street in February, 1882, workers joined the union with a view to increasing their wages, improving their working conditions and adding to their security on the job.

In 1953 and 1954 the Upholsterers International Union marked off new goals attained in wages and health and welfare. New ground was broken in the fields of pensions, old-age security, political activity and inner union democracy. Yet in these seventy-first and seventy-second years of our union's continuous existence, the aims of unionism, the standards by which we can judge our success and even many of the methods remain surprisingly similar to those of 1882.

Concern with the increasingly protracted duration and costly character of local strikes led our General Executive Board early in 1954 to adopt a new policy. This called for review on the ground and participation in negotiations by the nearest international vice-president not locally involved before the granting of strike permission. Subsequently, our historian, now compiling the story of the union's early years, pointed out that after similar experience the same policy had been adopted by the Board in 1895.

Then as now, unemployment or slackness of work in the area of the strike was a determining factor. The penalty for a lost strike, sixty years ago as now, was the weakening of the union by loss of members and jobs and by financial exhaustion.

The blacklist was then a legal weapon of the employers as it is no longer, but six decades ago there was no ominous threat of action by govern-



MR. HOFFMANN

ment to hold a vote of the scabs, with any legal strike thereafter prohibited. Strikes in 1895 were lost at uncertain dates as exhaustion was reached. Something new has been added in Taft-Hartley's official strikebreaking by authority of the federal government.

This mixture of the old and familiar with the new red thread of warning or the gold of something gained has made our last two years a fairly lively piece of fabric. The problems have been mixed ones.

WITH the first onset of the Eisenhower hard-money policies in 1953, our employers felt the impact quickly. Our industries are characteristically small scale, with over 2,500 contracts with as many employers to cover only 60,000 members. The bankruptcy rate mounted and voluntary liquidations spread rapidly among concerns which could not or lacked the will to try to survive in the harsher conditions for little business imposed by a Big Business administration in Washington.

Unemployment rose drastically among upholsterers in the closing months of 1953 and especially in 1954. Household furniture is especially sensitive to the psychology of

the purchaser. New furniture is one kind of consumer expenditure that can be postponed practically indefinitely. While factory employment generally fell off nearly twice as much as over-all employment in 1954, employment in the furniture industry last year fell off from two to three times as much as the drop in factory employment.

An index to the steady march of technology and productivity per worker, punctuated by decline in the number of enterprises—in ours as in other industries—is the fact that the volume of production reflected the merest fraction of the decline in employment. Even more menacing than the return of large-scale unemployment in our trades was its distribution.

Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Maryland reported 19 to 28 per cent decline in employment. On the other hand, the subsidized, unorganized South and Southwest, with their bristling breastworks of anti-union, compulsory open-shop laws, low and uncertain unemployment compensation and low wages, showed no decline or one less than that in general manufacturing. Arkansas even showed a small gain.

The migration of orders if not the plants themselves into the subsidized, anti-labor law Southern and Southwestern states was evident. With most of the new plants located south of the "states' rights for labor's wrongs" border, new organization was slowed to a slow walk indeed.

Last year, for the first time, our union felt the teeth of the strikebreaking provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act north of the border. In 1947, in the month when Taft-Hartley became effective, the National Labor Relations Board postponed a long-overdue election at the Rowe-Jordan plant at Salem, Virginia, on grounds of technical temporary non-compliance of the American Federation of Labor with the new law. A hun-

dred workers, unable to stand the anti-union employer's heckling, went on strike.

The Labor Board, after wrangling long enough to permit most of the strikers to be replaced, ordered an election. Voting by the strikers was prohibited under the Taft-Hartley Act. The U.I.U. members were voted out of their rights by the scabs. Over a year later the N.L.R.B. decided it was a mistake and voided the election, but then it was too late. The Upholsterers International Union was the first victim of the section of the Taft-Hartley Act which was described to the A. F. of L.'s 1952 convention by General Eisenhower as a "union-busting" provision. Then a candidate, he pledged repeal of this part of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Last year Mr. Eisenhower failed to get this union-busting provision repealed even in the second session of his Republican Congress. And last year in Cincinnati, north of the old slave-labor border, Senator Taft's surviving law partner approached one of our Cincinnati employers, the C. F. Streit Company. The lawyer satisfied the company that the law his late partner had sponsored could bust unions.

A strike was forced, the months dragged on and by the end of 1954 the Taft-Hartley formula had worked. The striking workers were replaced, the scabs were enfranchised and the U.I.U. was voted into outlawry by 97 to 8 while the striking workers and our union stood by helplessly.

The Taft-Hartley Act, with its special charter for state compulsory open-shop laws and its strikebreaking and union-busting devices, is something new under the sun. Every union knows this. The important thing for the workers' cause is not their wrongs but their struggles to overcome difficulties and their not infrequent victories.

There is no inspiration in contemplation of tyranny but only in acts to overcome it and overthrow it. Outsiders, particularly romantic people whose own lives are highly comfortable, cannot understand this.

It is related that in caste-conscious Germany labor sympathizers could not understand the failure of the workers to share their own fascination with tales of the gloom and doom of the workers' lot as portrayed by the play "The Weavers" and such.

A wise observer, Franz Mehring, said that misery and injustice were often the workers' lot and there was no inspiration in watching the elaboration of their own lives' problems. Even a classical play of Schiller's, said he, offered more to a worker because here was a hero confronting and struggling against difficulty and, at least occasionally, triumphing over it.

We prefer to stress the triumphs of the Upholsterers International Union in the meeting of new needs of the worker not only for improved wages and working conditions but for a personal security and dignity far beyond the basic desire for job security.

In 1953 three years of patient negotiation and actuarial study were crowned with the inauguration of the first national multi-industry pension plan for workers. Employers by collective agreement began to pay into the U.I.U. national pension program a premium of two per cent of employees' wages. The payments were to provide pensions after twenty-five years of service in the upholstered

Resistance to tyrants is
obedience to God.
—Thomas Jefferson.

household furniture, mattress and bedding, burial casket, canvas and awning industries.

Last December the first pension checks were written for industry veterans in trades which, due to small size of typical employer, could never practically benefit from private pension schemes until the union furnished a working plan and the machinery.

The first checks in the first year of operation were only one-fifth of the full pensions of several hundred dollars per year which will eventually be possible, but the wistful hopes of U.I.U. pioneers who talked in conventions fifty and sixty years ago of meager pension and social benefits to be self-provided by union action are more than fulfilled.

Some employers entered the joint board of governors which governs the pension plan with doubt and skepticism. They have remained to praise and to join eagerly in study of plans to reduce the required service period, as soon as possible, to twenty years.

Further, some of the leading em-

ployers in our industries now are prepared to collaborate with the union in a wider field of aiding and preparing our members for all the problems of retirement, in a program starting years before actual retirement age.

IN THIS area of old-age security, nothing has so stimulated interest everywhere as the Upholsterers' proposal to establish a retirement village and resort on the magnificent 600-acre plot near Palm Beach purchased by the board of trustees of the U.I.U. health and welfare fund for a nursing and convalescent home.

This pioneer program was approved by our 1953 convention but only in 1954 were the grounds on the Intercoastal Waterway south of the old Jupiter light and village completely cleared.

From a root idea of another service for its ill or injured members temporarily away from the job has grown the idea of further security and service to members and their families even after full-time working days are over.

Last April the U.I.U. health and welfare fund celebrated its tenth birthday. From a modest beginning the union's social security plan has spread until it now covers some 42,000 out of the union's 60,000 members.

The pioneers who two generations ago debated and appointed committees to study perpetually recurrent plans for insurance benefits to meet the live emergencies of members did not dare to dream of what is today accepted as a matter-of-fact protection by thousands of U.I.U. members.

In the passage of ten years \$14,000,000 has been poured into the hands of members for sickness pay, medical services, dependents' care and death and accident benefits under a constantly and steadily expanding schedule of benefits.

The union-administered plan has set many precedents in its lifetime. Its quality and standard of conduct have brought praise and approval on every occasion when the plan has been examined by outsiders. This is a pleasant report to make when brickbats rather than bouquets have been the order of the day at the very mention of the words "union health and welfare plans."

With all the catalogue of material progress, the (Continued on Page 30)

Brotherhood and Responsibility

By SAM G. BYERS

President, Laundry Workers International Union

HAVE you ever spent any time looking down from the air on a city you know well? First you look for landmarks. Then, once you have oriented yourself, you find a slow realization of strangeness creeping over you. You knew the place was big, but you hadn't realized how big. Then you begin to wonder why—and to think.

Why did all these people get together? What makes a city grow? Yes, I know my history. People get together at logical transportation crossroads—for protection, for trade, for work. It depends on your viewpoint what reason you give. But what made men get together in the first place?

There was a time when each man fought for himself—to grab food, to grab shelter. Maybe the first to get together were motivated by selfish considerations. They found they could fight better together than apart. They could kill more animals for food. They were safer. Their families were protected.

When men began to live together, to fight together and to work together, it was then that they put something ahead of self. It was then that the spirit of brotherhood began. As we count time today, they were slow in extending the idea from tribe to groups of tribes, from groups of tribes to nations. But the idea was there and, being a right idea, it grew. The first man to fight for the preservation of someone weaker was expressing brotherhood. He was taking on responsibility. He was not living for himself alone.

So it has been throughout the ages. There have been dark periods when self-interest seemed the only law. But always there have been men big enough to realize that life is more than self-survival, that giving does not impoverish, that life must have a creed and a code if it is to be worth the living.

What kind of man do we consider great? Who is the man we most admire? It is the man who has brother-

hood in his heart and who accepts the responsibility for his brother's welfare, who thinks not of his own advantage but who sees his brother's needs.

Take our February heroes, for example—the two men who stand out as the two greatest American heroes, Washington and Lincoln.

When George Washington chose to cast his lot with the struggling colonies he was not moved by self-interest. He was risking security, property, position in order to fight for the rights of others. He withstood the enemy without and the enemy within. His was not an easy path—but he welded an army out of farmers and planters, out of workers and wealthy, and did it in spite of the calumny of lesser men. When Abraham Lincoln wrote and signed the Emancipation Proclamation and banished slavery from this nation, he knew what forces he was unleashing upon his head. His was not a self-interest but a belief that freedom for one must mean freedom for all.

"As I would be no man's slave, so I would be no man's master," he said.

Both assumed the responsibility of brotherhood. Both understood the

interrelation of the two ideas. And to both we justly do honor.

Brotherhood is the basis of our trade union movement. When we keep this ideal before us we are strong. When we substitute self-interest we become weak. The leaders in our movement whom we revere were men who put aside their own advantage to fight for the rights of all workers. If we permit bias or prejudice or group thinking to dominate our actions or our unions, we are unworthy of those who sacrificed that we might be strong.

We have a responsibility to express the ideals of brotherhood in our daily lives, in our unions, in our nation, in our world. This does not mean merely the mouthing of high-sounding phrases, the reiteration of a creed. It means putting that creed into action. Brotherhood means just one thing—thinking of the welfare of all and working for the common good.

In brotherhood was this nation founded. In brotherhood was it kept together. In brotherhood was the union movement formed.

It is our task—as individuals, as union members, as citizens—to keep brotherhood's flaming torch alive.

Hartley Bobs Up Again

FORMATION of a "National Right-to-Work Committee" with himself as president has been announced by former Congressman Fred Hartley of New Jersey—the Hartley of the infamous Taft-Hartley Act. The announcement was made at a press conference in Washington.

After the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act over the veto of President Truman in 1947, the New Jersey lawmaker decided not to try for reelection. He became head of an outfit which called itself "Tool Owners Union, Inc." Chief lobbyist at \$20,000 a year, Hartley felt that he had his hands on a very good thing.

"Tool Owners Union" blew up overnight when the New York Board of

Standards and Appeals took a careful look at it and then said:

"No more Fascistic organization, with all the potentialities for undemocratic action and danger to our way of life, has yet come to our attention."

In the Washington press conference a few days ago, Hartley shared the spotlight with the board chairman of the new union-hating outfit. The latter dignitary is E. S. Dillard, president of the Old Dominion Box Company of Charlotte, North Carolina. Questioned by reporters, Dillard confessed that his own company has unwaveringly resisted organization.

Anti-union Southern employers are numerous on the board of the ingenious Fred Hartley's new committee.

CANCER IN INDUSTRY

By **HERBERT K. ABRAMS, M.D.**

*Medical Director of Local 25, Chicago,
Building Service Employees International Union*

IN Eighteenth Century England, small boys working as chimney sweeps had the highest cancer death rate of any occupational group. These boys were compelled to climb into flues only seven inches in diameter to clean out the soot. In 1775 a physician, Percival Pott, described this situation and observed that the cancer, usually of the scrotum, resulted from constant irritation by soot.

This, the first occupational cancer reported, was an important discovery both scientifically and socially. For it resulted in the first legislation to protect children, the Chimney Sweeps Act of 1788.

Since then many more chemicals and other work hazards have been proven capable of causing cancer. Less than one per cent of all cancers have a definitely known cause, and most of these are occupational cancers. As our research progresses and industrialization grows, we will continue to find more cancer causes in our occupational environment.

Exposures to irritants known to cause cancer occur in numerous industries and occupations ranging from chemical manufacturing to uranium mining.

But how can we tell when a cancer is of occupational origin?

In general, there is no difference between a cancer caused by an occupational poison and one of unknown cause. The symptoms are the same. Cancers of the bladder, lung or skin, for example, are the same whether caused by inhalation of a certain chemical in the factory or resulting from an unidentified cause.

The most important tool to aid the doctor in making the diagnosis of occupational cancer is a thorough occupational history. And the intelligent workers will be aware of the materials they have worked with.

Occupational cancers usually require years of exposure to develop. The time will depend upon the intensity of exposure potency of the

chemical or physical agent and the relative susceptibility of the individual affected. Occupational cancers have been reported to occur in from one to many years of exposure. It is possible for a cancer to become manifest years after the worker has left the place of employment where the exposure occurred. This is another reason why a thorough history is so important.

Cancer-causing agents are discovered in two ways: (1) experimentation with animals and (2) epidemiological investigation. Epidemiological research works something like this: It is known that in a certain state only 0.02 per cent of the population as a whole get cancer of the bladder. But in one county of that state 0.1 per cent of the population is affected.

In a single plant in that county it

is discovered that five per cent of the employees get bladder cancer. Further research then reveals that 50 per cent of the employees in one specific department of the plant and over 90 per cent of the workers employed in one occupation in this department get this type of the disease. It also may be observed that these workers get cancer at an earlier age than persons in the general population.

So now there is a solid basis for a detailed study of the chemicals and processes to which those workers are exposed.

THE outlook for reducing the number of occupational cancer cases is more hopeful than that for other forms because such cancer cases can be prevented. Prevention is based on the same principles as is prevention

Occupational Causes of Cancer

Here is a partial list of occupational chemicals or agents and the types of cancer they cause:

Chemical or Agent	Type or Location of Cancer
Anthracene, crude	Skin
Aromatic amines (beta naphthylamine, benzidine and related chemicals)	Bladder
Arsenic	Skin, eyelids
Artificial asphalt	Skin, eyelids
Asbestos	Lungs
Benzol (benzene)	Blood-forming organs, skin, bladder
Chromates	Lung
Creosote	Skin, lip, eyes
Mineral oil, crude	Skin, lip, eyes
Paraffin, crude	Skin
Pitch, soot, tars	Skin, lip, eyes, scrotum
Shale oil	Skin
X-ray and other radioactive materials such as uranium, radium, etc.	Lung, skin, bone and blood-forming organs (leukemia, aplastic anemia)

of other occupational diseases. Some notable safeguards are:

(1) Substitution where possible of a less harmful chemical or process for a harmful one. For example, replacement of benzol by a less dangerous solvent.

(2) Tightening up of the production system to prevent the escape of

noxious dusts, fumes and gases into the air.

(3) Exhaust ventilation to remove noxious dusts, fumes and gases.

(4) Protective clothing, goggles, gloves and respirators for the worker. Change of work clothing daily and showers at the end of the day.

(5) Medical supervision of the

workers with periodic examinations to detect early signs of troubles.

(6) Education of the worker. Unless he knows what he is doing and handling and how to protect himself, other measures are apt to fail.

Some of the occupational irritants known to cause cancer are shown in the box on the preceding page.

Meeting the Anti-Labor Drive

By DANIEL D. CARMELL

Counsel, Illinois State Federation of Labor

ASSUME that members of your union have been locked out by their employer. Your organization decides to notify the public and the trade union movement that the company's products are made by non-union workers. Thereupon the employer files a suit, claiming that your organization is boycotting his goods and causing him loss of trade. He wins the case in court—and every member is held liable for the union's acts.

You are thus forced to share in payment of three times the damages supposedly suffered by the firm. Altogether, you and your union brothers and sisters have to raise \$252,000—so you mortgage your homes, go deep into debt and finally manage to pay the damages assessed against the members of your union.

Would your organization survive? How about the reaction of other workers? Isn't it possible that they would shun labor unions since membership could make them liable to payment of large sums of money?

These are logical questions and they deserve practical answers, since the situation has a bearing on what the union movement is facing today.

The case I have outlined actually happened. Back in 1908 the boycott by the United Hatters of Danbury, Connecticut, against D. E. Loewe and Company was held to be in restraint of trade under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. After seven years of expensive litigation, the members of the Hatters Union in Danbury were required to pay out \$252,000 on court orders. And here is the basic point of

this story: Despite the devastating financial attack on the members, the union survived and the general trade union movement grew. The long and courageous fight of the Danbury Hatters was a potent force in securing enactment of the Clayton Act, which declared that "the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce."

As an attorney who has spent his adult life observing the wonderful and moving story of the American trade union movement, I have learned that there is a vitality in labor organizations that is symbolic of the best in our way of living. Unions have reacted vigorously in the face of legal attack throughout their entire history. Adaptable, ingenious and courageous, the leaders of American labor took an inward look at their organizations after each onslaught by the courts or legislative bodies. This kind of self-examination taught our trade unionists a lesson that bears repeating today.

Labor cannot and should not rely on government in attempting to achieve its aim. If labor wants to be strong, it must attain that strength by its own efforts. Our unions must rely on that strength and on the collective bargaining agreements voluntarily negotiated between unions and employers.

Recent events again call for self-examination by our union leaders. State "right to work" laws are eliminating standards won over many years of hard-fought battles on the economic

front. The tendency of the present National Labor Relations Board to turn back to the states authority over certain labor-management disputes is causing additional difficulties.

SHOULD we be discouraged by these developments? Should unions give up the fight for higher living standards and throw all of their energies into merely defensive activity?

That is not the lesson of the Danbury Hatters or the other victims of judicial oppression. Labor's answer in the past to those who would inflict legal obstacles was to fight back.

We were sure of the righteousness of our cause, for what could be wrong in the efforts of a group of workers to improve their conditions? We felt that somewhere along the legal lanes we would find a court which believed in the basic freedoms of speech and assembly. The trade unions became the most active defenders of the Constitution of the United States, seeking to secure the broadest interpretations of the rights contained in our basic documents.

Labor found that to reach workers with its point of view, it had to organize them first. And that's our big job today, for it is a fact that millions of workers

are still unorganized in 1955.

Labor has come a long way since 1806 when workers were jailed for "conspiracy" after they went on strike for higher wages. But do most employers feel differently today about



labor's right to strike than employers of 150 years ago? It is my belief that there has been little change in the attitude of many owners of industry. Some of the recent activities of employers and their organizations support this statement.

There has been a revival of employer attempts to choke off strikes by use of the injunction. The success of statewide employers' organizations in securing laws to hamper union activity has basically the same purpose as the 1806 decision that bankrupted the Philadelphia shoemakers' union.

Of course, there is a difference in terminology. Today they don't use the word "conspiracy." But "right to work" and anti-strike laws could have

the same terrible effects on workers.

I believe this battle for the rights of man can be won by the trade unionists of our time in the fashion of the pioneers of the labor movement. We can eliminate what Samuel Gompers called "the wrongs and injustices so long inflicted upon workers" by aggressive, tireless and resourceful organizing activity. The success of labor's political activity is dependent on bringing the trade union message to people where they are most receptive—at the place they are working.

The educational program begins on the job. The efficient union that organizes workers and that serves them properly on grievances and in contract terms will win the confidence of its membership in other fields of un-

ion activity. By renewed organizational efforts and by serving workers with courage and intelligence, labor can defeat hostile legislation designed to shackle its progress.

As a lawyer for labor who has watched many unions grow from infancy to vigorous maturity, I have come to this conclusion:

The movement we love is worth our time, energy and sacrifices. Remember the Danbury Hatters. They lost their homes—and saved their union. Their action was in the best traditions of our nation—so eloquently expressed in the last few words of the Declaration of Independence:

"* * * we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor."

The Work of Central Labor Unions

By N. E. COWARD

Secretary, Houston Labor and Trades Council

MANY citizens outside of organized labor—and perhaps some inside it—probably have wondered just what a central labor union is. In the cities of Texas which have central labor bodies they are called by various names—Trades and Labor Assembly, Labor Council, Trades Council, Central Labor Union, Trades and Labor Council. Delegates from all the American Federation of Labor unions in a given city or county make up a central labor union.

These central bodies have nothing to do with collective bargaining. Instead, they are central planning agencies, information exchanges and public relations voices for the American Federation of Labor movement in their respective communities.

Delegates to the central labor union learn, from reports from other delegates, how the other local unions are getting along. They report the pertinent portions of this information back to their locals, and in this way the movement keeps posted on its many branches in a community.

In some Texas cities as many as 100 local unions are entitled to send delegates to the central labor union. Often not all qualified local unions are affiliated, but they should be since it is the A. F. of L. central body that repre-

sents the movement in that locality.

In many communities the central labor union has one major task—spearheading labor's community service projects. It appoints committees which investigate charity drives and decides which ones should be recommended for support by the locals and their members. It takes care of community needs which aren't being met by other organizations. Central labor unions sponsor Little League baseball teams, Boy Scout troops and charity projects of many kinds.

Central labor unions have another major function, that of acting as the voice of the A. F. of L. movement in the community. After investigation, a central body often speaks out on issues of the day in the community.

Central labor unions are thoroughly democratic. Affiliated local unions and auxiliaries elect their own delegates. These delegates, as members of the central body, elect the council's officers each year, and the latter become the authorized spokesmen for the A. F. of L. movement in that area. If what these officers say doesn't represent the views of the majority of those they represent, one may depend on it that they will be replaced at the next central body election, which is never more than one year away.

In Texas the central labor unions have long records of standing up for what is good for the community. Recent instances would include the action of the Dallas central labor union in endorsing a school bond election to provide needed classroom space for the thousands of Dallas youngsters coming of school age. The Fort Worth central labor union recently stopped an effort by a business organization to use the public schools for propaganda purposes, calling the public's attention to the fact that public schools aren't supposed to be used for anybody's propaganda.

I have left to the last one of the jobs of the central labor union which some would consider its most important—the arrangement of Labor Day observances. Many central labor unions start their planning for next year's Labor Day parade or picnic at the first meeting after Labor Day. And the slogan is always to make next year's better than this year's.

Labor Day—labor's own day—has been observed in a hundred different ways in Texas cities since it was established. Every successful Labor Day celebration has had behind it a determined central labor union and a Labor Day Committee which has put in hundreds of hours of hard work.

The Kentucky Story

By SAM EZELLE
Secretary, Kentucky Federation of Labor

WHAT would you do if you discovered someone taking food from your child's lunch-box or pilfering clothing from your closet? If someone devised a plan to prevent your children from going to college or to force you to drop your insurance, would your blood boil?

If you are an average American citizen and know that someone is deliberately trying to reduce your living standards, you will get your dander up.

There are people today employed by organizations of management who are putting in more hours a week seeking ways to reduce your standard of living than you are putting in on your job trying to improve it.

These people have passed "right to work" laws in seventeen states already, and your state may be next.

A "right to work" law is not a right to work at all. Actually it is a law to reduce your standard of living by weakening your union. It is simple; it is cruel. It may start in your state in such a small way that you may not recognize it. Some local trade organization may begin by adopting a resolution for a falsely labeled "right to work" bill and you happen to see it in your newspaper. Like cancer, its early symptoms will be missed if you are too busy to pay attention. And, like cancer, it may get completely out of hand, and then you will suddenly find that you and the family that depends upon you are in a state with a compulsory open-shop law.

BACK in October of 1953, in the little city of Henderson, Kentucky, a group of businessmen were getting a pep talk from a professional "open-shopper."

Louis Bosse, managing director of Associated Industries of Kentucky, was trying to carve a bit of a name for himself with the new anti-labor fad that was sweeping the country. It was easy for a professional to dub all industrial trouble which Kentucky had witnessed as "labor trouble."

Perhaps some in attendance were convinced that labor-management differences of all kinds could be solved permanently by weakening labor through legislation. With no labor representative present at the meeting, the speech didn't have to be encumbered with facts.

Mr. Bosse's speech, which got a ripple in the Kentucky press, was a signal that the open-shop cancer was invading Kentucky. Labor immediately met the challenge. The next edition of the Louisville *Courier-Journal* carried labor's open invitation to a series of public debates on the "right to wreck."

Mr. Bosse was trapped. Instead of proceeding under cover, he was forced into many open debates on the issue before labor, management, civic and religious meetings. Radio and television debates brought Mr. Bosse into the living rooms of tens of thousands of Kentuckians. His plan to reduce the living standards of Kentucky toilers was exposed time and time again.

The Kentucky Federation of Labor led the fight and participated in all of the debates. The State Federation of Labor prepared a fifteen-minute radio program and sponsored it twenty times throughout the state. A booklet, "Bosse's Folly," was prepared and

quickly distributed as soon as 40,000 could be run off the presses.

All local unions were alerted and hundreds of committees formed to contact state Senators and Representatives. Our beloved Alben Barkley, in a public address, lashed out at those who would "pass a little Taft-Hartley Act in our state."

When the Kentucky General Assembly met in January of last year, Bosse's folly was doomed. In the House it came out of committee with a 17 to 0 recommendation that "the bill does not pass." In the Senate the phony "right to work" title failed to impress anybody either. It just died in committee.

In Kentucky a public relations program proved to be sufficient medicine and the open-shoppers found only humiliation. But wouldn't it be better for all of us if all union members were vaccinated against those who would weaken our unions through unjust legislation?

The A. F. of L. has the vaccine. It is called political action. Your membership and participation in Labor's League for Political Education will help.

Remember, it is better to light a single candle than to curse the darkness.

Yesterday and Today (Continued from Page 25)

account is incomplete. What of the heart of the matter, the union itself in relation to its members? This question, the center of which is the health of union democracy, preoccupied myself and the General Executive Board at intervals over the last three years.

Conventions, referendums, carefully worked out procedures for the democratic process in policy and administration seemed to us all to leave one gap. What about the guarantee of individual rights in the face of overwhelming majority sentiment and interest? In the matter of of-

fenses against the union by the member, the union, its officers and its tribunals—with every safeguard—still had to act as prosecutor, judge and jury, often in the same person. So great is the tradition of union loyalty and solidarity and its reflection in organization forms.

Outsiders had raised the question—seldom or never the union leadership or members themselves. There was no great volume of cases involved in a union such as ours. There had been no specific leveling of the finger at our particular union

—rather the reverse. But the stubborn fact remained that a final independent, effective check on the union in all its majesty and the union member charged by his fellows and his elected leader with offenses against the organization they represented and lived by—such a check did not exist.

At our 1953 convention our Executive Board proposed a pioneering plan. We proposed that the union abdicate a part of its sovereignty. That an independent board of citizens not part of organized labor, whose character repelled the slightest thought of subservience to the organization that called them into being, be given the right to review and to lighten or remove penalties or to order new trials if full process had not been given.

The convention after some debate concurred, and in the summer of 1954 such an independent citizens' Appeals Board was created by the U.I.U. for its members. Professor Archibald Cox was chosen chairman by the Appeals Board's own members. After study of the U.I.U.'s own general laws, the Board devised its own related rules.

Its members are Judge Curtis Bok of the Philadelphia Court of Common Pleas; the Rev. Father Leo of St. Louis University, director of the Institute of the Social Order; Professor Nathan Feinsinger of the Law School, University of Wisconsin; Paul Herzog, former chairman of the National Labor Relations Board and now at Harvard School of Public Administration; Dr. Clark Kerr of the University of California; Father Dennis Comey of St. Joseph's Institute of Industrial Relations at Philadelphia; Joseph D. Lohman, eminent criminologist; and Dr. J. B. Gillingham of the Institute of Labor Economics, University of Washington.

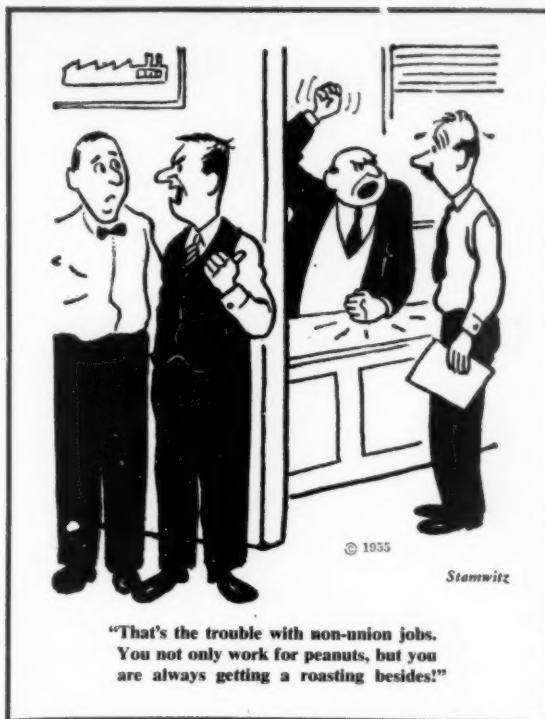
No cases have arisen for Appeals Board action, yet as I told the Board on the occasion of its organization at a meeting in Chicago, my purpose was to see that, having been constituted, the Board should if possible never have reason to go to work. Nevertheless, the Appeals Board does and will exist. I sincerely feel that, so far as it is humanly possible by social invention, we have closed the gap in union democracy in present-day industrial society.

It was Samuel Gompers who said

that a good trade unionist was first a good citizen—and that guaranteed a good union man.

No accounting of the progress of the Upholsterers International Union can omit the fact that organized labor has come closer to Samuel Gompers' ideal since the formation of Labor's League for Political Education in 1947 than at any previous time in our history.

A Department of Civic, Educational and Governmental Affairs is now a full-time function of our union. Education is a long process and progress must be gradual to be lasting; but today, with more of our members voluntarily financing their own political interests than ever before, we are on our way to a higher plane of union action and responsibility than at any time in



our history. We are learning and we are acting upon that learning. For all the doubts and fears, I believe it is still dawn, not dusk, for American labor and the precious heritage of a free democratic society of which it is so essential a part today.

Labor News Briefs

►A. F. of L. Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler has congratulated the Aluminum Workers International Union upon the completion of the first year of publication of the union's paper, *The Aluminum Light*. In his letter Brother Schnitzler expressed his pride "in the quality and the quantity of labor publications going out each month to the millions of members of the A. F. of L."

►Matthew Woll, first vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, was lauded for his record of devotion to the rights of labor at home and abroad at a testimonial luncheon in his honor on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday. George Meany, president of the A. F. of L., pointed to Brother Woll's numerous outstanding services in the cause of freedom. The luncheon was held in New York.

►A campaign to bring additional Connecticut teachers into the American Federation of Teachers is now under way. The Connecticut Federation of Teachers, 13 Norwood Drive, New Haven, is asking the cooperation of all American Federation of Labor members in the Nutmeg State.

►Joe B. Mahoney of Chattanooga, Tenn., former president of the Central Labor Union in that city, has been appointed national representative for Tennessee by the National

Federation of Postoffice Clerks. The post was held previously by Charles M. Allmon.

►In the recent nationwide muscular dystrophy drive spearheaded by the International Association of Fire Fighters, more than \$3,800,000 was raised. Mrs. Lou Gehrig has announced for the Muscular Dystrophy Associations of America. John P. Redmond, president of the A. F. of L. union, told all about the Fire Fighters' campaign efforts in an article in the February issue of this magazine.

►Flagrantly unethical practices by the *Trade Union Courier* of New York City have been reported to the Federal Trade Commission by John Lewis, hearing examiner. He has recommended to the F.T.C. that it order the newspaper to stop representing that it is "endorsed by, affiliated with, sponsored by or otherwise connected with the American Federation of Labor."

►The American Federation of Hosiery Workers has called upon the members of organized labor to boycott non-union products manufactured in the seventeen "right to work" states. The suggestion came from Alexander McKeown, the union's president.

The LABOR NEWS BRIEFS section will be back to its usual size in our next issue.

Rail Shop Workers Want Guaranteed Wages

THE Railway Employees Department of the American Federation of Labor has announced that guaranteed annual wages for 350,000 shopmen employed on the nation's railroads will be a main objective of the Department this year. The decision was reached a few days ago at a meeting of the Executive Council of the Department. President Michael Fox presided at the sessions, held in Florida.

The chief executives of six unions representing railroad shopcraft workers are members of the Council. These organizations, all A. F. of L. affiliates, are the Railway Carmen, the Machinists, the Boilermakers and Blacksmiths, the Sheet Metal Workers, the Electrical Workers and the Firemen and Oilers.

The decision to seek guaranteed annual wages this year was taken as a "protective step" because of critical unemployment among railroad shop employes, Mr. Fox said.

"Layoffs have been widespread and heavy, particularly during the latter months of 1954," he pointed out. "Decisive action must be taken to prevent further suffering among these men."

The president of the Railway Employees Department also said:

"We believe that the drastic and extreme fluctuations in railway employment during 1954 could have been avoided had a guaranteed annual wage program been in effect in the industry.

"Not only the employes but the carriers themselves would have benefited from such a guaranteed income arrangement because it would have resulted in more satisfied and more efficient employes, who would have had a higher morale and done a better job."

Mr. Fox told reporters that between 55,000 and 60,000 shop workers were laid off by the railroad industry during last year and few were reemployed. He also pointed out that the Seaboard Airline Railroad has had a form of guaranteed wage in effect for a quarter of a century.

Further steps in formulating the guaranteed annual wage movement will be considered at the national convention of the Railway Employees' De-

partment, scheduled to be held in Chicago in April. Demands will be served on the railroads shortly thereafter.

"The purpose of this movement will be to achieve maximum stabilization of employment in the railway shops and allied facilities where retrenchment has cut deeply into the number of employes at work during 1955," Mr. Fox said.

"The maintenance and repair of

railway locomotives and cars, which is the responsibility of our members, can and should be so scheduled as to provide steady employment. We are determined to establish the principle of the guaranteed annual wage on the nation's railroads."

The C.I.O. United Automobile Workers are seeking the guaranteed annual wage as a prime goal in 1955 bargaining with the auto industry. Talks in that industry begin soon.

A Plea for U.S. Ships

CONGRESS should enact a program to bring shipbuilding and shipping back to the United States, James A. Brownlow has told the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. Metal Trades Department. Mr. Brownlow, president of the Department, made his statement at the Council's meeting in Florida a few days ago.

Unless Congress enacts such a program, Mr. Brownlow said, the nation's strength will be "undermined." After hearing his warning the Department's leaders voted to ask the A. F. of L.'s Executive Council to take action on the subject.

The president of the Metal Trades Department told the leaders of the Department that severe shipyard unemployment now prevails in the United States. Conditions are so bad, he said, that for every 100 workers who were employed at ship construc-

tion and repair during World War II, only five are still on the job today.

Mr. Brownlow assailed the building of ships in foreign yards with U.S. funds. He lashed sharply at an American destroyer deal whereby a contract went to a shipyard controlled by Communists.

Our country has dropped to eleventh place among the world's shipbuilding nations, Mr. Brownlow told his Executive Council. Meanwhile, the shipyards of Germany, Japan, Britain and other countries have gained enormously, and their prosperity has been brought about largely by big American companies which are building their ships in foreign yards and registering them under low-wage foreign flags.

"This practice further tears down wage standards and fosters more unemployment," the Metal Trades Department's chieftain pointed out.



President Brownlow (seated, second from left) with other officers at meeting at which he reported on sorry shipbuilding situation